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The Gist of It

WHAT lies back of the cables from Shanghai you read this morning? Developments such as these were forecast in the special number of Survey Graphic brought out a year ago this month (East by West; our annual racial number for 1926). Professor Robert E. Park and his collaborators assayed the human problems that rim the Pacific. The three articles which lead off this issue carry the process forward in the light of swift events, breaking the stereotypes of the day's news.

WE hear much of protecting the property of our nationals in China. But what after all is the biggest stake there? Measured in terms of dollars, the churches, schools and hospitals exceed our total business investment. Missionaries form the largest group of Americans in China. And in their approach to the issues confronting our State Department, educators and mission groups have increasingly broken with the old policy of special privilege, eager to meet the new China half way. Professor and Mrs. Burgess envision for the future an independent Chinese Christian church, independent schools and colleges developing within an autonomous Chinese nation, calling for a new type of work and a new type of worker from the United States. Back of their prophecy lie seventeen years experience, for it was in 1909 that Professor Burgess began his work at Princeton-in-Peking, later affiliating also with Yenching University as head of its department of sociology. Mrs. Burgess grew up in Japan and was in Y.W.C.A. work there before her marriage. Masters of the Chinese tongue and keen students of the people, they are outstanding social workers of the Orient. Page 135.

THERE are reports of Bolshevik intrigue in China—Red plots and clashes between Communists and moderates. How much flame there is under the smoke cannot be gauged at this distance. But what actually of the technique of the Russian Revolution have the Canton Nationalists taken over and welded into the American formula fashioned by Sun Yat Sen? How have they unravelled the armies of the northern war lords? How have they fomented general strikes back of the enemy lines? Clues are given by Miss Strong who capped five years spent in Russia with her visit to China last year. And behind that, she had organized Know Your City institutes and Child Welfare Exhibits in many American cities, and had been a member of the School Board of Seattle, and an editor of the Seattle Union Record (labor). She took part in post-war relief work in Poland under the American Friends' Service, and from there under the Friends' Mission (English and American) she took the first car of foreign food into the famine area of Russia. Since then she has been correspondent of the North American Newspaper Alliance in eastern Europe.. Page 139.

AND there's the stereotype of the Chinese as an ancient civilization. True, the industrial revolution has reached the mainland fifty years later than Japan, a hundred years later than America, two hundred years later than England. But today the manufacturing cities of the Yangtze make up the Ruhr of modern China. Tientsin, the port of Peking, is also a great factory center. The Chinese are going through the excruciating process of industrialization, and the first survey of it in terms of labor conditions and movements was that of Miss Kelsey, who from 1920 to 1923 was a feature writer for the North China News and confidential secretary to the managing director of the China General Electric. Today she is on the staff of The World Tomorrow. Page 144.

T. Z. KOO, who has just arrived in the United States as American representative of some fifty Chinese guilds and commercial organizations, in an article in the New York Times, points out that American statesmen (like Hay and Roosevelt), business men, educators and missionaries have built up a fund of good will in China which is worth infinitely more even in terms of trade "than all the territory and special privileges extorted from us by the powers in eighty years." Grover Clark, editor of the Peking Leader, now in this country, points out that this may be jeopardized by the failure of the principal Western Powers to take concrete action looking toward cooperation with the moderates, while Thomas F. Millard, staff correspondent of the World, cables that the Chinese view of western policy is colored by the action of the Municipal Council of the Shanghai International Settlement, "which embodies the standpat foreign attitude about pending issues," and whose chairman, an American, announced at the annual tax-payers meeting in mid-May that its powers were independent of the diplomatic corps. Mr. Clark, writing in The New Republic, urges that the American government clear up any misapprehension as to the purpose of American forces in China, and address the Chinese people formally and directly through the Chinese minister at Washington, requesting them to appoint representatives to negotiate new treaties of mutual equity and reciprocity based on the "full recognition that the Chinese nation possesses the same basic national rights as the nations of the West." We have disclaimed a desire to retain old privileges impinging on this principle, but we have done nothing to turn our generalities, addressed to the world, into direct, friendly and specific action. Here is a point where Americans who favor a break with the old gunboat policy can make their pressure felt at Washington.

JEAN HARRIS ARNOLD (Mrs. J. H. Arnold) of Cleveland Heights, O., contributes her breezy ratiocination on the future of the family as a postscript to our Woman's Place number of last December. Page 147.

ROBERT W. BRUÈRE, associate editor of THE SURVEY in charge of the Industry Department, turns this month to one of the most hotly discussed factories in the United States—the Cincinnati plant where Arthur Nash makes men's clothes by the Golden Rule with the expert help of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. Page 148.

MICHAEL M. DAVIS gauges the cooperative clinics of Berlin from his experience as secretary of the Committee on Dispensary Development in New York. Page 155.

S. K. RATCLIFFE, who gives a side light on the British labor premier, now on a visit here, is a lecturer known to hundreds of American audiences. Page 157.

OLIVE A. COLTON has achieved a whimsical detachment from the innumerable good causes which have enlisted her efforts in Toledo. Page 151.

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AROUSING THE PEASANTS

A poster picturing a Mongolian war-lord seizing everything as taxes and beating up the people

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The American Stake in China

By J. STEWART and STELLA F. BURGESS

CHINA, to quote the New York Times, has leaped upon the front page and walked through all the doors of the State Department. The question naturally arises, could these distressing events have been foreseen, and, foreseen in time, prevented?

America's principal interest in China is the cultural contact between the two peoples embodied in the missionary enterprise which symbolizes the altruistic interest of Americans. Our investment in mission property in China is estimated at $80,000,000 as against $70,000,000 in business undertakings. Of the 12,000 or more Americans living in China, about two-thirds are in the missionary body—evangelists, doctors, nurses, secretaries of the Y. M. and Y. W. C. A.

The present situation in China raises many questions as to the future of this large undertaking. Property ownership must, of course, be adjusted in the light of changing political relations. An interesting problem is the attitude that Chinese Christians, inspired by Nationalist feeling, will take toward continued ownership by foreigners of institutions which they have increasingly come to believe are the instruments of a native Christian movement. The method of transfer of this property into Chinese hands is, of course, only a small part of the future relation of Americans to the religious and cultural development of China. That a readjustment of the type of work and in many cases of the type of worker sent out from America is one which the missionary movement will have to meet, seems clear. Contributions of great value in the pre-national period may be a hindrance to the Christian movement under an autonomous China.

Of even greater importance are such questions as these: Of what permanent value will the past work of the missionary group be in the building of the new China? How may the results of this work be best conserved for the interest of the Chinese people? What type of contribution should America make to aid and not hinder the growth of an independent Chinese nation and the welfare of the Chinese people?

ALL foreigners in Peking know the Clock Shop with its conspicuous time piece at the East Four Gateways. Once inside the brick gateway, flanked by canny beggars, one's rickshaw catapults into a wide courtyard surrounded by the sloping roofs of a well-stocked shop of silks and cloth. Scores of unhurried clerks await the buyer's will.

On a morning of brilliant North China sunshine two years ago, tea was forthcoming for the American with whom a friendship had been built up by common work in the Community Centre of this block of 9,000 people—a friendship strong enough to allow the head clerk to break through the tense silence of hatred and suspicion which rose like a high wall upon the shooting of Chinese students in Shanghai on May 30, 1925, as they were parading in protest against labor conditions in foreign-owned mills.

The proprietor leaned across the tea-table to make his words emphatic to his American customer.

"*Taitai,* your words sound well—that we must each deal with this matter in the spirit of fair-dealing and in the light of truth. But I tell you the whole situation is founded on injustice: They scorn to deal with our people as equals. They do not recognize that we, as well as they, are a part of the human race. They will not *chiang li*" (talk out the moral points involved).

His voice and his fists were rising now. It was hard to recognize the placid friend of the week before.

"You people from the Out-Lands don't get the significance of this movement. You think that you can sew a patch on this rent—that it's a minor tear. I tell you it is just beginning!"

Calling to his side a little boy of six, he put his arm around his first-born with a gesture which is universal.

"We are dinning it into the ears of little fellows who are no larger than this. Whether they are eating or playing we see to it that they hear of the injustices of the foreign nations toward us. Wait! Wait until these little fellows have come to maturity—you will see!"

That afternoon this same American was caught in the swirling eddy of thousands of students storming the entrances of the Legation Quarter. The then only articulate

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group in the country were yelling as they marched, "Down with unequal treaties! Give us back our territory!"—all the slogans which, in the past two years, have swept like a prairie fire through the largest nation on earth. With imprecations and tears of shame they beat against the cordon of Chinese soldiery about this piece of China controlled by aliens, reviling them as traitors.

Evening of the same day, and a garden-party in an ancient Chinese courtyard, lighted by the moon and scores of lanterns strung between high elms. In one corner, flanked by college pillows, sat a burly Anglo-Saxon expressing his satisfaction that in Shanghai at least, the unruly students had come up against bullets. "Served them jolly right—ought to be spanked and sent back to their books, the whole crowd of them! . . . *They* can't shake us out." After two periods of residence in China he was still of that type of which the cloth merchant had spoken that morning—"You will not see!"

SO far as America's relations are concerned, the term imperialism scarcely seems appropriate, yet the total effect of our political, economic and religious impact has made it difficult for Chinese to believe that we have no definite imperialistic policy. Of late years the term imperialism, it must be remembered, has signified to the Chinese any policy of enforcing the will of a foreign group on unwilling or passive Chinese, from the holding of foreign concessions to compulsory chapel in a Christian college. It signifies a conviction of superiority, a lack of appreciation of the capacities, aspirations, or cultural heritage of their people.

A quiet but powerful influence since the founding of the public schools in 1905, has come from the readers made compulsory by the Board of Education, which told every Chinese boy and girl of the humiliation of their people under the present treaties. The World War, with its revelation of the aims of western diplomacy and of underlying trade jealousies, the marauding war-lords who had forced the conclusion that the people must take a hand in public affairs, or perish, the disintegration of the old social system under modern industry around the port cities—these and many other influences have tended to break down clan-mindedness and preoccupation with local affairs, and awake an ardent desire for a united and self-respecting nation.

Such a united consciousness was made possible by two factors, each epoch-making in its own way: first, the adoption of the spoken language in a written form as a medium of expression for emotional ideas and their quick spread; second, the active pushing of a mass education movement, on a scale never attempted by any people at any time. Added to this there was a great extension of the educational system earlier established. The figures show that in 1910-11 there were 57,267 schools with 1,626,529 students, and that this number had increased by 1922-23 to 158,972 schools with 6,819,486 students.

Outbursts of national feeling and protests against foreign encroachments revealed for a number of years the growing tide of nationalism, sweeping up like the famous bore of Hangchow. Huge demonstrations in the large cities followed the presentation by Japan of the twenty-one demands in 1915. Annually since that time there has been commemorated this "seventh day of the fifth moon" as the national Day of Shame. In 1919 demonstrations inspired by students and backed by the merchants indicated China's protest against the signing of the Versailles Treaty, in consequence of which the delegates withheld their signatures. The reader of current Chinese periodicals and the daily press noted the increasing vehemence in the demands for national autonomy and at the same time patriotic scholars were emphasizing the importance of the reappraisal and preservation of the best of China's ancient cultural heritage too readily consigned to the scrap-heap by hot-bloods in the first flush of their ardor for reform.

Looking back it is easy to see how Chiang Kai Shek, setting out from Canton with 30,000 organized troups as the champion of the Nationalist program, swept half of China under his control. Unlike the war-lords of the North, this general represented a definite political party and program, one in which, in its broad outlines, all thinking Chinese put their hope. This victorious, onward military movement was but one manifestation of the underlying national aspiration with its two slogans of "Down with the militarists" and "Down with foreign aggression!"

Months before the rapid rise of the Cantonese Nationalist Party, there were not lacking foreign residents with an appreciation of the new national feeling. Such an appraisal came most directly and easily to those in close touch with students of government and mission schools. In the winter of 1925-26 we recall an American educator of national reputation, advocating a striking gesture, a bold stroke of diplomacy, a clear-cut statement of policy which would convince the Chinese people that America wished revision of the unequal treaties and was prepared to treat China on a basis of equity and reciprocity. The dangers of delay were clearly portrayed. Recent events have clearly justified his predictions.

One may assume that contacts with the West, the slow process of education, and other forces would inevitably have brought about, in the long run, a sense of national solidarity. But this process was needlessly accelerated and embittered by a sense of national humiliation, a feeling that they were set upon, not only by avowed exploiters, but by those who, coming in a spirit of would-be helpfulness, should have appreciated the national aspirations of the Chinese people. Thoughtful patriots have come thoroughly to distrust the diplomatic platitudes of foreign nations. Recent history would seem to justify their belief that the allied powers will give up no privilege of importance except as they are forced.

THAT Russia has shown consummate skill in her utilization of this new state of mind and has had a direct influence on certain aspects of the expression of this national consciousness, seems clear; how great a lasting effect this will have, is a question that cannot now be determined. The Russians no longer have extra-territorial privileges in China, and this has caused the Canton group to look to Russia as a friend willing to treat her as an equal. Russian advisers, especially Borodin, have guided the Cant nese in perfecting party organization and in the methods of propaganda. They have put their emphasis on organizing the farmers and laborers and on raising the economic condition of the masses. That there is a strong centrist group headed by Chiang Kai Shek that opposes certain features of the Russian influence is clear.

The social and racial attitudes of residents within the foreign concessions has been for years an increasing cause of indignation. Assuming that China of the last centur could not have remained in complete isolation, the first con-

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tacts of foreign merchants may have necessitated the setting aside of certain concessions. But the attitudes and practices connected with these settlements have become repugnant to the Chinese people. This is true in spite of the fact that, from the point of view of sanitation, good roads, and policing these holdings—some of them formerly waste-land—are now the best parts of China. Free from oppressive native taxation, many Chinese merchants and manufacturers have amassed fortunes in the settlements at Tientsin, Shanghai, and Hankow. Ex-officials in large numbers have built huge palaces of refuge. An artificial system of special privilege for foreigners living in these detached, segregated groups developed a supercilious attitude toward the Chinese. The only contact of many westerners with orientals is with servants and compradores. Their information on China comes largely from the local foreign press, with its scornful attacks on all progress and change. Except on the part of an occasional sinologist in the customs' service, there is little appreciation of China's cultural heritage. There is general distrust of the capacity of Chinese to manage their own affairs. Surrounded by a corps of servants, with traditions of short office hours carried over from tropic India, there is everything to feed that sense of innate superiority to which the white man so readily falls prey. Any prospect of decreasing special rights which allow the foreign merchant to reap large profits from cheap labor and exemption from internal taxation, is looked upon as utter folly if not with the abnormal psychology which comes with fear.

UNQUESTIONABLY the policy of some missions and the patronizing attitude of some missionaries has contributed toward the ill-feeling toward foreigners. A noted Protestant Christian leader of the Chinese points out three principal stages of the Christian movement. Before 1900, foreign missionaries determined the policies and mission boards gave the support. After 1900, when so many Chinese Christians gave up their lives for their faith, the remaining adherents began to believe that the church was theirs. They sought for control and demanded the leadership. "Many missionaries," affirmed this Chinese leader, "said, 'We wish you to grow'—but held us back. God has created circumstances," he said, "which will enable us to shed those who have hindered the progress of an indigenous Church. The Christian movement of the future, while still in need of foreign counsel, will be under Chinese leadership. The independent, indigenous Chinese Church will emerge."

It will be recognized at once that the development of such a church and the training of Chinese leaders was the principal aim of much of the work of the Protestant missions. But the new movement has come so quickly that some missionaries, often with the best of intentions, have maintained a paternalistic attitude toward their flocks, and retained control that should in some cases have been turned over to Chinese hands.

A glimpse of the history of the Christian missionary enterprise shows how easy it was for a proprietory attitude, formerly of some value, to hold over and cause friction. It must be remembered that up to the revolution of 1911 there were practically no adherents of the Christian faith drawn from a literati or government student class. Most of the missionaries were in the rural districts, and the Church was largely built on the splendid peasant stock. Artisans, day-laborers, servants, and small merchants were also attracted. It was almost inevitable that the missionaries, many of them college men and women, should assume the leadership in a movement composed so generally of the common people. Proprietory attitudes and paternalistic care by the foreigner was a natural result of this situation. At the same time, however, the mission schools were training boys and girls to be leaders of the next generation. It should be recalled that Sun Yat Sen was, in his younger days, a worker employed by Christian missions and that his manifestos show marked evidences of Christian attitudes. Such outstanding national leaders as Dr. W. W. Yen and Dr. C. T. Wang, prime ministers, were sons of Christian pastors and educated in mission colleges. A long list of prominent men in educational and political life are the direct products of Christian families and Christian education.

After the founding of the Republic, with its accompanying establishment of religious liberty, there was a manifest interest in the Christian religion on the part of the intellectual and student class, and an influx into the Chinese Church from groups formerly apathetic. In some places the result was an approximation to an indigenous Chinese Church, but in others the old attitudes of foreign domination and of native subservience continued.

It was very natural that of late one of the outgrowths of the new nationalism should be a tendency to single out the element of foreign domination—theological, ecclesiastical, and educational—in the Christian movement as a point of attack. This seemed a vulnerable point as the status of the missionary and of mission schools was only made possible by treaty privileges, the existence of which young China considered a national disgrace.

The anti-Christian movement is not so much against Christianity as such as against the foreign form in which it has been presented, and the political and economic policies of the nations from which the missionaries come. This later point is vividly portrayed by the Christian general, Feng Yu Hsiang, as reported recently in the Japan Advertiser:

> "When I accepted Christianity I accepted it because it was made up of the most beautiful and humanitarian precepts that were preached by any existing faith. . . . But I do not like the Christians who come to us. I have received Christianity from their hands, but I have no admiration for the givers. I have grown to dislike the missionaries who come to us to preach the Christian faith. . . . Christianity is the enemy of militarism, imperialism, tyranny and ruthless industrialism. But whenever a crisis arises, we find our missionaries lacking in courage to declare for the truth. They try to teach us meekness, the meekness of the weak. But Christ's conception of meekness was the meekness of the free and strong. So I tell the missionaries, "You have given me a beautiful faith. I like it. But I don't like you."

IN contrast with this is the suggestion by a Chinese scholar, a leader of the renascence movement, not himeslf an adherent of Christianity, that a Chinese interpretation of Christian teaching, made by Chinese scholars, would enrich the cultural life of his country.

While the essential triumph of the new nationalism seems inevitable, the task of nation-building is enormous, and the process only begun. The social structure of old China, which automatically vested in the head-men of the families and villages all civic responsibilities and under which the people took no interest in national affairs, makes the creation of the sense of responsible citizenship extremely difficult.

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In any emergency the basic social groups would act together as a unit. The guild, as one man, would fight the tax imposed by the local official. The village, as a unit, would contend with the neighboring village over the water-supply. And the family clan not only stood together but was held responsible for the individual action of all its individual members.

This social solidarity and this tendency to act uniformly and in groups, may be an explanation for the often unreasoned mass-action in the present situation. When once the wind is up, the individual cannot and dare not oppose the trend. The difficulties in building the new nation may be indicated by merely mentioning the fact that between 80 and 90 per cent of the population are illiterate, that millions live on the verge of starvation, that there must be reabsorbed into civil life the million, some say million and a half, men now under arms.

DETAILED predictions of the outcome are folly: there are no historical parallels from which to reason. A few charcoal strokes may, however, suggest the possible picture.

It seems inevitable that the Nationalist movement will eventually succeed both in putting the country under unified rule and in recovering the rights of a sovereign nation. America, in the end, must readjust relations with our oriental neighbor on the basis of mutual reciprocity and fairness. These readjustments may come grudgingly and tardily in the form of what a Chinese has termed "post mortem first aid," or even yet they may be made in such a way as to assure the Chinese people of our genuine goodwill.

America's investments in Chinese commercial undertakings amount to approximately $70,000,000. In 1924 there were approximately 600 American firms operating in China. With the abolition of foreign treaty rights and the present disruption of trade there will undoubtedly be a temporary setback. In the long run, however, there will be more opportunities for legitimate foreign trade under a government which has a progressive policy than under the reactionary war-lords of the past ten years. The efficient financial administration of T. V. Soong, Nationalist minister of finance, and the express declaration of Sun Yat Sen (now having almost the weight of scripture) that foreign capital to develop the resources of the country is an imperative necessity, would indicate that there will be greater opportunity in the future for safe investments by Americans. This market, however, will not be bulwarked by special privileges of any "most favored nation clause," but will be built on a principle recently emphasized at a dinner in New York of economic experts and business leaders—that trade knows no national boundaries, that the market is the world.

WHAT probable future has our greatest enterprise, the $80,000,000 invested in schools, churches, hospitals, and residences? It may be asserted with some confidence that the anti-foreign and anti-Christian feeling which at present embarrasses all types of Christian enterprise in certain sections will abate, and that there will be an opportunity for certain kinds of valuable missionary activity. It seems probable that much of the evangelistic work and of the executive leadership of the Chinese Church will rightly pass into the hands of Chinese. In recent conversation with one of the most eminent of these leaders the future contribution of missionaries and mission societies was outlined somewhat as follows: In the immediate years ahead one of the most pressing needs of the Christian movement will be for endowments of the colleges, hospitals, and Y.M.C.A.'s, most of which have been built on a scale so much above the economic level of the constituency of the Chinese Church that it is at present impossible for them to be carried on without foreign financial aid. It was pointed out that, with the development of a democratic government, there would be an even greater need for the graduates of Christian colleges and universities. Adjustments in curricula will be needed to train young men and women for the new regime. Registration under the Chinese government will involve the abolition of compulsory religious teaching, and a greater proportion of Chinese control will be required. The more experienced foreign teachers, however, will be needed for a number of years, and technical experts whether in agricultural, engineering or religious education. A permanent place for foreign teachers is found in those chairs which interpret the inner meaning and development of western civilization. The intermediaries between the West and the East will have a place in the new Chinese nation of vital importance.

Are there any changes of outlook which are required of the constructive imagination of the American people at home? After all, white business men in the Orient are but emissaries of companies at home, and missionaries, whether in education or belief, are but a cross-section of the churches which send them, individually touched by enough of the spirit of internationalism to see no national boundaries to their enterprise. A colossal awakening to its birthright of a fourth of the human race puts into the discard our old mental patterns and demands from us a rethinking of racial questions. With our pride of achievement, our worship of machine efficiency, our faith in the Nordic myth, we of the Anglo-Saxon race have come to assume that we have a paternalistic obligation, if not to manage the affairs of the oriental peoples, at least to pass judgments on their ability, according to our standards, to reorganize and readjust their national life and to instruct them in the way in which they should go.

THERE are indications that, while China has much to learn from western civilization, she does not propose to swallow our institutions whole. She will select what she considers valuable. It is interesting to note for example that in adoption of the general principles of western democracy, Dr. Sun adds to the conventional three-fold division—executive, legislative, and judicial—the old Chinese idea of censorship and the principle of entrance to public office by examination, the corner-stone of the political system of ancient China. In the sphere of religion, there is a demand that China's ancient classics shall be recognized as the Old Testament history of her race.

The American people may well add to the new realization that China in the future will control her own development, the further idea that she has also her own unique contribution to make to the world's culture. It is difficult to see how we can come to such an attitude toward the more distant Oriental as long as within our own borders the Negro, the southern European, the Jew, and the Oriental are not on terms of social, economic, or racial equality with the 100 per cent American.

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What Canton Learned from Moscow

By ANNA LOUISE STRONG

IN and through all the cables from China are constant allusions to Soviet influence: to Reds and anti-reds, here labor unions suppressed with violence, and elsewhere peasant meetings voting "monstrous communist schemes" of land division. Whether the inevitable split among the Nationalists develops now to the full and prevents their reaching Peking, putting China back perhaps for a decade; or whether it is briefly patched up to reappear in milder form as opposing parties in a civil government,—it is worth while knowing what Moscow has been teaching to Canton. There is pretty general admission that without the Russian advice and the employment of Russian tactics in their drive north, the Southern forces would not have reached the Yangtze. Beyond that, little analysis has been made. What is the actual content of this odd partnership in which the Cantonese get the territory and the Bolsheviki get the blame?

Let me begin with the Russian Embassy in Peking. Like the other legations, it is a large walled compound containing many scattered buildings in a plot of grass and trees. There is one parade entrance where I went to call on the ambassador for my visa. There is another at the side, nearer to the scattered dwellings, where I went to meet Mrs. Borodin and other Russian friends whom I knew from Moscow, and who had invited me to have supper with them at the Soviet Club.

This club formed the center of the recent raid on the embassy compound. I found it a bit of Moscow transplanted to Peking,—a typical workers club with dining-hall and assembly room, hung with flaming red banners bearing the mottoes of the moment on cooperation, the rights of women, and "workers of the world unite." It differed from a Moscow workers' club only in that some of the banners were lettered in Chinese as well as Russian, and portraits of Sun Yat Sen were honored along with Marx and Lenin. The members were mixed Chinese and Russian, the sum total of all the employes of the embassy from ambassador to Chinese janitor, together with any stray Russians or Chinese who were in town and wanted to come. Simple food was put on the table all at once in the disorderly Russian fashion of supper, and people came in at almost any hour to eat it, sitting where they chose and changing seats as often as they wished to join some new arrivals. Russians and Chinese were laughing together, joshing each other, calling each other by nicknames, without the slightest consciousness of race difference. It was an utter contrast to the usual foreign legation in China or the usual foreigners club. Even the carefully considered attempts I saw made by progressive Americans to form little social groups of Americans and Chinese jointly, for the purpose of breaking down barriers and "understanding each others' point of view," seemed painfully self-conscious in their well-meant endeavors beside this utter unconsciousness of any barriers that needed breaking. As for the ordinary business and social clubs of Anglo-Saxons, it is well known that Chinese are admitted only as servants.

It is not in Peking, however, but in Canton, that the real effect of Russian ideas has been most noticeable, personified in the Russian adviser, Borodin, the only foreigner to sit in the executive committee of the Kuomintang Party. He has the reputation of behaving with great tact and never offering an opinion until asked for it. In ordinary human intercourse, as I have known him in both Moscow and Canton, he has a cheerfully philosophic temperament, secretive regarding his personal movements from the habit of an old-time Russian revolutionist of 1905, but pleasantly expansive regarding theories of human destiny, able even to analyze with detached humor the foundations of his own beliefs. Two years ago, the English-speaking papers of China began to call him the "red dictator of Canton." This he smilingly disclaimed, pointing out that he administered nothing but was only "adviser."

But advice, based on the experiences and also on the mistakes of the Russian Revolution, has been tremendously potent in forming Cantonese tactics. It has helped create the unity that brought them as far as the Yangtze; it is today helping to create the split which holds them there.

When Borodin first went to Canton some three years ago, he found Sun Yat Sen in despair with his Chinese Revolution and Nationalist Party, which he had organized on the American model, based on his own contact with America and intense admiration for her democracy. In crucial ways, that model had failed to fit the Chinese.

Scattered over a vast territory were some four hundred million peasants, illiterate, unable to vote because of the literacy test which the new ballot system of voting imposed. Above them a small circle of officials kept themselves elected to chances of graft, remaining totally out of touch with the peasants and noticing the growing body of Chinese industrial workers only to suppress their strikes and behead their leaders. Starving peasants borrowed in April rice to last them till harvest, repaying it four months later with 150 per cent interest added. Landless peasants rented land for 50 to 75 per cent of the crop. They starved, went bankrupt, sold their daughters, then sold their wives and at last turned bandit.

THE first stage of banditry was still close to the peasant from which it sprang. Villages which gave hospitality and food were left unlooted. But as bandits combined, roving further from home, they became "soldiers" and stole everything they could lay hands on. Various strong men arose as generals, who hired some of these bands and put down others, and looted by the more orderly devices of printing paper money and forcing it on the merchants, or compelling peasants to plant opium for which the taxes were heavy. The whole of China became a prey to these shifting local autocrats, whose troops were loyal as long as they were well paid, but deserted to any enemy who would

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pay better. They fought as a job, not for any cause; there was no nationalist cause in China that aroused the masses. The so-called Nationalists were an undisciplined group of intellectuals and officials.

Down to Canton in those days drifted the remains of every defeated "revolutionary" army. Like the rest of China, Canton became a sea of conflicting generals and grafting officials. "Yet under all the graft and corruption and conflict," said Borodin to me in Canton, "lay the ideas of Sun Yat Sen, powerless, but with the possibilities of power. A score of conflicting generals liked to offer lip-loyalty to Dr. Sun; but they broke his heart by never obeying a word that he said."

It was then that Borodin introduced Russia to Dr. Sun. He pointed out the methods whereby a seething sea of "red guards" had been transformed into the disciplined "Red Army." He added: "You will never have order until you train a small disciplined force of your own troops, loyal not to any general but to a nation and a party." This was the principle that made the Whampoa Military Academy the "West Point of China."

It was a principle that might have been applied by Americans; it had no communism in it. In fact, Sun Yat Sen first sought Americans for his army instructors but was unable to get them because his government was not recognized. He applied to Borodin and received Russians, who were probably better fitted to the job in hand, which was not that of building an army under an already stable government, but of building both an army and a government out of a continuous battle-front. The Russians themselves had had experience in doing this, at the cost of terrific mistakes and terrible losses. The Cantonese took over the Russian knowledge, and the Russian tool of discipline through propaganda; they added their own knowledge of the actual conditions in China, and created the plan which brought them last winter to the Yangtze. They improved on the Russian model, having a chance to plan and consider in peace before action; but the model was Russian, modified by Chinese brains. It was a new model, singularly effective.

FIRST the Whampoa cadets were trained, not merely as military leaders, but with the political tactics they would later require to explain to half-loyal new troops what they were fighting for. Then the province of Kwangtung in which Canton lay, was consolidated and cleared at least in part of bandits. Peasant organizations were formed, demanding such revolutionary things as "no interest rates higher than 20 per cent a year." Workers' organizations also were started. The Kuomintang was reorganized on the "Soviet system," which meant that delegates came to its highest conferences elected from peasants' and workers' groups directly, as well as from merchants' organizations. It adopted a Political Bureau, again on the Russian model, introduced "party discipline," and attached "party representatives" to arsenals, factories, regiments, creating by all these means unity in behalf of a common political aim. The aim was not the Russian aim of communism, nor even socialism, but merely national unity. But the tactics were Russian.

For the greater part of a year, for instance, an impossible strike situation in Canton was kept from breaking into open conflict. Forty thousand strikers had moved over from Hongkong and established their own government in the heart of the populous city of Canton. They had courts and jails; they arrested and sentenced offenders against their self-made strike laws. I saw these things in action one morning and was assured by the mayor of the city that same evening that "no such court or jail really exists; it is only a sort of strike hearing." Thus he saved the face of a city government dwelling side by side with the strikers' government. For months the situation was kept from conflict by the Political Bureau, which like Tammany Hall in New York, or the Politburo in Moscow, told its various members in all these groups "how far they could go." Only when the strikers began arresting the city commissioner of police did Chiang Kai Shek find it necessary to enter the arena and "clean out the Reds." The "Reds" in this case included a score of indiscreet Russian officers who had sided with the strikers; they were shipped out of Canton the day after an abortive uprising.

THEN the drive north started. Now came into play the newly perfected combination of force and propaganda. A high diplomat would visit the general of the near-by province and urge him to join the Nationalist cause and help create a united China. If he agreed—I have seen the terms printed—he might remain general of the troops of his province. But the taxing power would be taken from him and consolidated in the civil government of which he would become only the honored servant. Also, all his subordinate officers would be removed to other branches of the army, thus effectually breaking any political machine he might possess. Political instructors would be supplied to teach his soldiers reading, writing and nationalism, and "party representatives" would be permanently attached to each section of his army. In other words, his allegiance must be thorough and permanent; three months later, if he wished to desert, he would have no army to take with him.

It was a hard alternative; but the other alternative was as hard. Tea-parties were also going on with all his subordinate officers, together with friendly discussions of the advantages of a united China—and the particular personal advantages to be gained by the bold officer who would help their cause. If the chief general refused, he knew his leading subordinate might seize the chance to desert to the Cantonese and secure for himself the provincial command. Both these outcomes occurred in different provinces.

THEN began the advance. With it went another weapon, the general strike. Another example of the careful study of past revolutions. Hitherto general strikes have damaged the workers more than their employers; they create only paralysis. But paralysis created where you want it—in your enemy's stronghold—is a useful military weapon. The Cantonese, with their policy of friendliness toward labor unions and peasants' organizations, could expect the suppressed illegal unions in cities like Hankow and Shanghai to strike, in aid of their approach, even though this strike cost several hundred beheadings by the exasperated military general opposed to them. Thus, with a minimum of actual fighting and also with a very small amount of munitions, in which they are very weak, they took province after province.

At once they consolidated their gains, and here also the Russian model helped them. There was no time to introduce the complications of a ballot election. But peasants were urged to organize by villages and workers by industries and send delegates to the Nationalist Party. Before the northern

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drive started there were already 4,989 peasants' organizations and 276 workers' organizations recognized as Kuomintang organizations in Kwantung province alone.

An epidemic of strikes breaks out following Nationalist victories; it broke out in Canton and later in Hankow. But these are not the all-paralyzing general strike. They are little strikes for wages. The Kuomintang policy is to say to the workers: "Don't wait for us to organize and pass labor laws; organize yourselves as unions and demand your rights." The "rights" demanded are in some cases wildly impracticable but in most cases painfully simple: to reduce the seventeen-hour-day to thirteen hours, the sixteen-hour-day to twelve, the fourteen-hour-day to eleven hours, and to double wages for all those getting three dollars a month (Chinese money), with lesser increases for those getting munificent sums like thirty dollars monthly. Even with these simple, moderate demands, the method is revolutionary, in that it gives the organized workers a sense of power as well as devotion to the Nationalists. It creates a fighting body ready to hold the line with their lives against any return of the former military ruler.

AS for the peasants, one reason the Cantonese started north when they did is not generally known. Last year the highest floods for fifty years burst through dikes near Hankow, long neglected by rapacious military rulers, and flooded some thousands of acres. When the peasants returned to their fields and saw the ruined dikes, they lost hope for the future and sat down to wait in despair for the greater floods which even ordinary high water would bring this spring. Even the three Wuhan cities were threatened.

Canton knew the situation; the Canton that had learned from Russian mistakes to consider the economic factors in peasant propaganda. The Wuhan cities were the heart of their future empire; they started north in time to repair those dikes. While talking anti-imperialism on the coast, they talked dikes to the peasants. Is it surprising that some peasant villages in Hupeh went to meet the advancing armies with Chinese lanterns and processions? Today seventy thousand peasants are working on dike repair, in a race against the high water. They are working under an American supervising engineer, O. J. Todd, of the International Famine Relief Commission, and with a $3,500,000 budget raised by T. V. Soong.

The Nationalist program projected a steady drive northward, along the lines and with the methods described. Marshall Feng, the "Christian Bolshevik" general of the northwest, has an agreement with the Cantonese, accepting the rule of the Kuomintang and forming a joint military program, which brings him into action on the road to Peking. A contract with Mongolia also assures that she will return to the fold "when the Chinese revolution is accomplished." Manchuria is a harder nut, with the Japanese interests combined with Chang Tso Lin, to be left till an indefinite time in the future. Such are the plans, but there are many incalculable elements in the way.

THE most incalculable factor of all is: how deep and how serious is the inevitable split in the Nationalists themselves? Discordant elements have temporarily been united by the powerful slogans of anti-imperialism and anti-militarism. The ignorant peasant's hate of foreign devils, the coolie's hate of the white man who kicks him around, the worker's hate of the unreachable white employer, the merchant's hate of white competitors, and the student and intellectual's hate of white inequality—all these emotions combine under the potent word anti-imperialism. But the moment problems of consolidating a government are reached, the diverse elements thus combined become apparent. In Hankow, Chinese workers make demands that Chinese merchants resent. Chinese land-owners look askance at peasant congresses demanding reduced rents. The conflict between civil and military power is indicated by the fact that half the Kuomintang membership is in the army, and its popular general resents dictation by the civil group. The applied Russian tactics and slogans have up to the present brought unity; they are beginning to breed division. Workers stimulated to expect a "land fit for heroes" want to be the heroes and to get the promised land. So do the merchants, and the peasants, and the landlords. They can't all have all they want; perhaps none of them can.

The split is real, and in the end inevitable. The only question is whether it can be staved off or patched up till they take Peking, and then assume the form of opposition parties in the civil government. Strange as it may seem, it is by no means certain that Russian influence is entirely with the so-called "Reds." Responsible Chinese have told me that on many occasions Borodin has prevented cleavages. Many indications from Moscow itself indicate that they wish to see, not chaos, but a united Nationalist government in Peking, of which they will have been the "first friend." The Chinese Communists themselves have signed a statement that they have no intention of advocating a "dictatorship of the proletariat" as a present possibility in China, but expect as a first step to aid the rest of the Nationalists in establishing a "bourgeois democracy." In spite of these declarations, dangerous splits are apparently widening.

Borodin himself left his job with the Soviet government some time ago and went into the employ of the Cantonese; no Soviet consul or ambassador has power to dictate his actions; in fact, the Soviet consulate at Shanghai has informed journalists that Borodin is a naturalized American citizen from Chicago over whom they have no jurisdiction. Yet still he is a Communist and he told me his view of China from the international Communist's view of world revolution:

> We are building here a bourgeois government. "Honest government; jail the grafters; make China safe for business!"—those are our slogans [he said with a smile]. Do you wonder why I, as a world revolutionist, take part in such endeavor? Then listen. Honest government in China is the beginning of world revolution. Stable government in China that turns back foreign imperialists and refuses to let them use these four hundred millions as a great unchecked slave mart. That act turns the capitalism of the great powers back on themselves to face their workers at home. They can no longer use the slave labor of China to beat down their workers, or the great profits from China to bribe them. That's the importance of a strong independent China, even a capitalist China, in the strategy of world revolution.

Such were the views Lenin held of the nationalist movements among suppressed peoples, borrowed now by Lenin's disciple Borodin.

The Chinese themselves are not thinking of these ultimate views. "The Russians have helped us very much," I have been told by many of them again and again. "The Russians say they wish only to help us establish our own government as we wish it, and to be our friends. If their statement is true, it is well. If it is not true, we are able to get rid of the Russians." Possibly not, however, of all the ideas the Russians have started, in the minds of coolies and peasants.

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Posters from Chinese Walls

MASS education by means of posters is one of the most quickly learned and widely used of Western ideas in China. In the poster at the left the large figure in the headboard is labeled The Tariff Conference, the two smaller figures, Imperialists. A free translation of the text might read: "Brethren, the Tariff Conference is a sort of headboard. The Imperialists are trying to put China in the headboard. If we wish to free ourselves from imperialistic bondage, we must get tariff autonomy for China"

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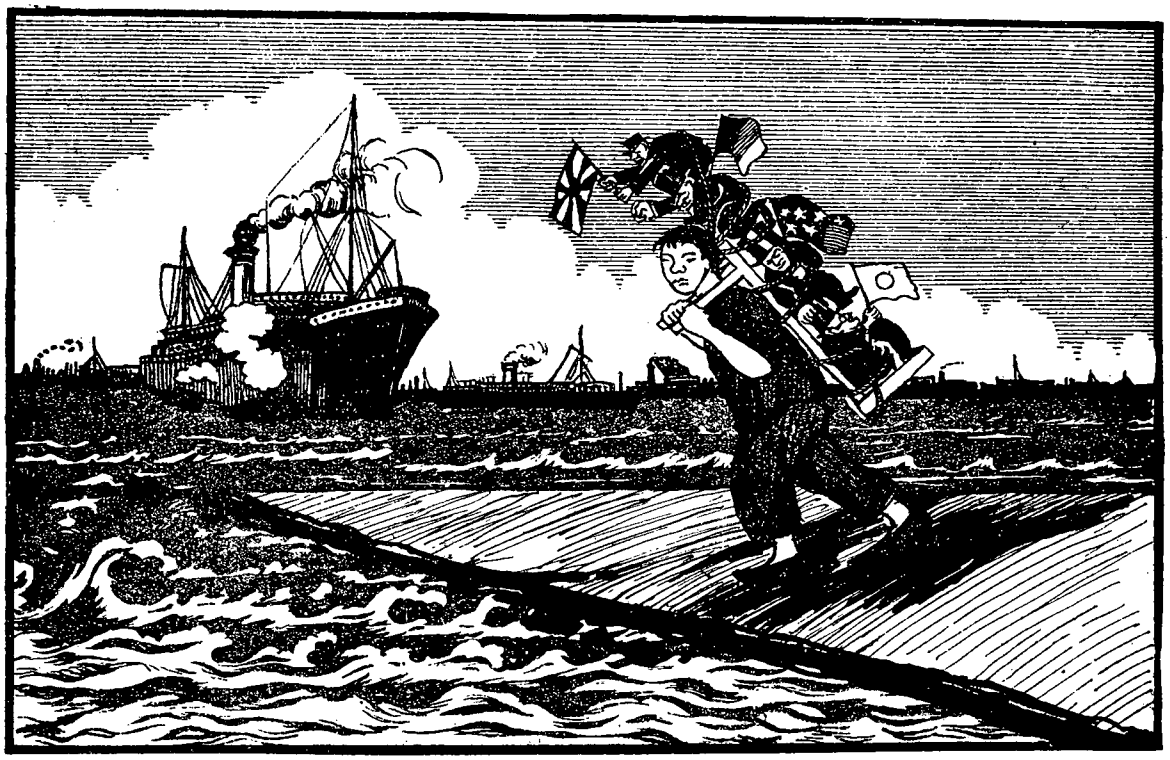
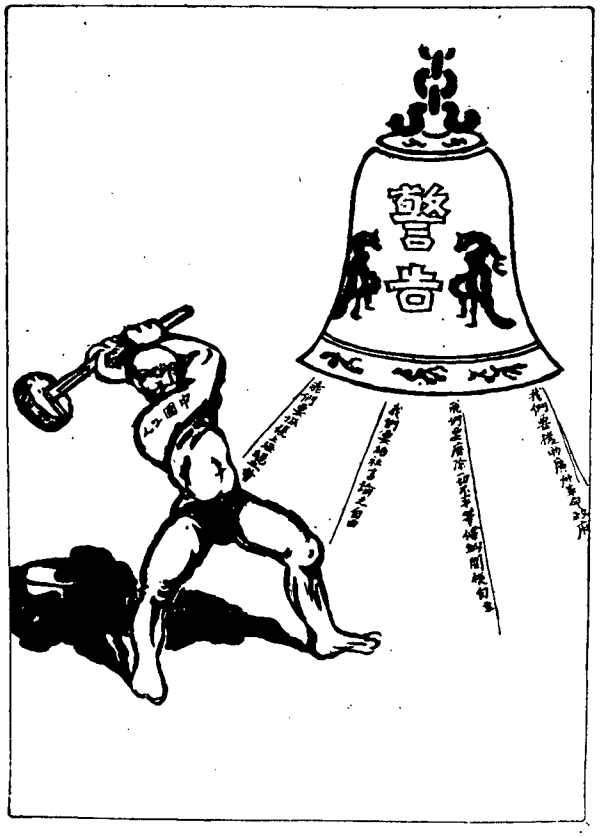


A Peking Poster: "China bears the burden of the world"

IN the poster at the right, the characters on the man's arm spell Workers, those on the bell, Alarm. The notes from the bell are: Restore the Workers' Federation in Shanghai; We want freedom of speech and assembly, abolition of unequal treaties, autonomy of customs; Support the Canton government.

THE frontispiece and the posters on this and the facing page, are from the collection brought home from China by Lewis S. Gannett, associate editor of The Nation, whose illuminating articles have been republished as a pamphlet, Young China (twenty-five cents of The Nation, New York City). While the poster used on the cover was made for the anti-opium campaign, it has a wider significance in its portrayal of the giant China bound by innumerable pygmy enemies. It is used here through the courtesy of the International Y.W.C.A.



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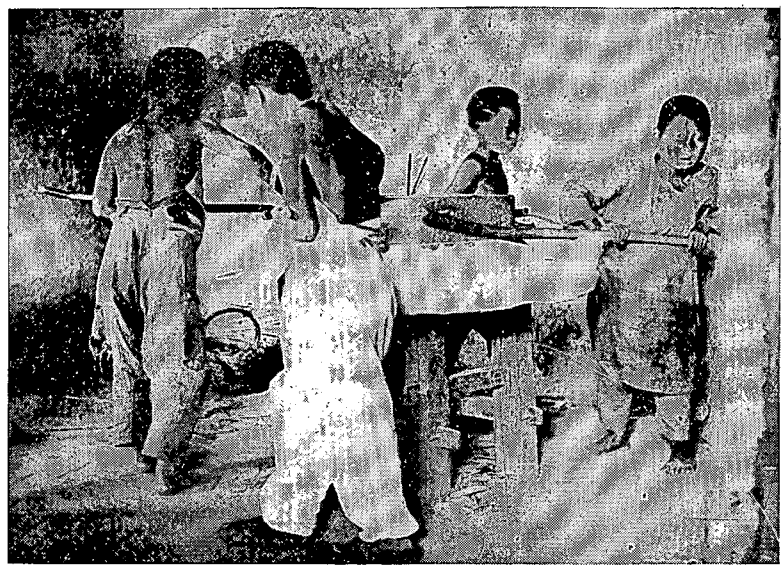
As Labor Moves in China

By VERA KELSEY



Small boys working at night in a foundry at Nanking

THE direct cause of the recent break between moderates and Communists in the Chinese Nationalist Party was labor. That fact is significant because it reveals the importance to which the labor movement has grown in in its five active years and prophetic because it indicates that in all future issues in the development of new and united China labor must be considered one of the outstanding factors.

It typifies, too, the whole Chinese situation. The moderates or right wing of the Nationalists represent those who wish to see the new China founded on the three principles laid down by Sun Yat-sen: political unification under a national government; readjustment of international treaties; betterment of the workers. The Communists or left wing want to establish a Communism brought from Russia.

To many who sympathize with the Nationalists the break coming at this time when they are engaged in a war with the Northerners for control of the government, is a disaster. Others welcome it. For the upheaval now in progress is only the beginning of the struggle. China cannot become a unified nation until all of her 400,000,000 think of themselves as units of a nation rather than of a family group. As yet but a fraction think in these terms. A decade if not a generation must pass before the ideas of political unity can be generally accepted. For the Communists to reveal at the outset that they would sacrifice the general good to their own ends is a benefit rather than a hindrance. Their withdrawal also frees the moderates from the necessity of trying to reconcile two opposing viewpoints within the party and enables them to concentrate on their own program.

Here again labor must become a vital issue. The labor movement now extends over such an area and through so many strata that the success of the Nationalists will be helped or hindered to a large extent by the attitude of the workers. When one realizes that the labor movment was not recognized as such until 1922, that the first union was formed less than twenty years ago, and that there are now between 800 and 1,000 unions with an estimated membership of 750,000, the reason for this is evident.

In 1909 the mechanics of Canton, absorbing from the West some inkling of organization, formed a union. The "mayor" of Canton, not to be outdone in progressiveness, endorsed it, but at the same time as a prudent official suppressed its every effort to function. So it smouldered, doing little more than adding to its local membership and establishing a branch at Hongkong. The Hongkong branch in 1920,—possibly as much to its own surprise as that of native and foreign industry in the South,—struck for higher wages and secured an increase ranging from 20 to 32½ per cent for its members. When the Canton union would have followed suit, the Kiangsi militarists, in control at the time, forced the union to discontinue its meetings.

The Kiangsi faction was driven out in the fall of 1921, and the Republic of China, with Sun Yat-sen as president, took its place. Dr. Sun immediately encouraged education, suffrage, personal liberty. Under this encouragement, all the repressed ambitions of labor burst into exotic bloom. Organizations spread throughout Hongkong, Canton, and South China generally until almost every trade had some semblance of a union. Other reasons made South China the leader. The North was cold to labor, the northerners slow-moving and conservative, while the Cantonese are enthusiastic, of greater initiative, more aggressive and at the same time more open to western influences.

The labor movement, however, was not recognized until 1922 when the Hongkong seamen won a three-months

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strike during which every labor organization in the British colony walked out in sympathy, and many others formed unions. After that the workers in factories, mills, workshops, and railways organized, not only in the industrial cities but for hundred of miles up the great rivers into the interior. Naturally all this did not develop without opposition, from employers, governments, the military, and the guilds. The story is checkered with suppression, confiscation, arrests, even death. But human nature is very human even in China, and the opposition served only to strengthen the movement.

With the union went the strike. In Shanghai, for example, fifty strikes were carried out by sixty labor unions in six months. Information concerning many strikes is never allowed to reach the outside world, but during 1925 alone it is estimated that 375,000,000 working hours were lost in China through strikes. Higher wages, shorter hours, better conditions were almost invariably secured.

In May, 1922, a National Labor Conference was called in Canton. Of the 168 delegates who attended, representing theoretically 300,000 workers, all but forty came from Canton and its vicinity. The conference, therefore, was almost entirely under the leadership of the southern members, informed and experienced in some measure at least in local organization and in western industrial aims. As a result, although the conference adopted some farsighted resolutions for a national industrial program, these could not be considered typical of the progress of Chinese labor as a whole.

IN fact, to speak of the activities of China's workers during these years as a "labor movement" is about as fitting as to call a youth in his most salad days a man. Those who came in contact with it labelled it with cautious comprehension, "industrial unrest." In one large plant where conditions were exceptionally good, the men struck because they did not have bubbling drinking fountains. When questioned, they confessed they did not know what a drinking fountain was, and as none of them could have been induced to drink cold water, the demand obviously was the suggestion of some embryo agitator. At the same time in Shanghai, the northern boiling point of the industrial unrest, the workers in a factory where conditions could not have been worse, had heard nothing of the new movement.

Lopsided or short-sighted as some of the activities growing out of the first Labor Conference may have been, there were others equally farsighted in their understanding of the basic needs of Chinese labor. Of these the most outstanding provided for supplying the workers with funds during strikes and keeping the movement economic rather than political. The first was designed not so much to enable the strikers to hold out as to develop sympathy and cooperation among the members. Sympathy and understanding of other men's problems are among the least known characteristics of the Chinese. In a country where over one-third of the population lies on or below the poverty line, where provincial wars, brigands, famines, floods, earthquakes, and droughts have been visitants for centuries, the people in self-preservation have encrusted themselves in a coating of indifference to the misery of others. As a result, loyalty to any group outside the family had no roots. The Hongkong seamen's strike would have been greatly strengthened had the Ningpo seamen struck with them, instead of hastening to make what hay they could while the Hongkong men were idle. Yet when the strike was won, they demanded and received the same benefits. This is but one instance of many. That by 1925 something had been achieved was illustrated in the general strike following the shooting of Chinese students by the British. With more than 158,000 strikers out, the Shanghai unions paid each worker from their relief fund one dollar (Mexican) a week. The decision to keep labor out of politics was the fruit of experience and most important. Strikers on the Canton-Hankow railway and in the Hanyang arsenal, fomented by militarists and politicians to embarrass their rivals, had proved costly for the workers.

The year 1925 stands out in the history of Chinese labor. Then the shooting of the Chinese students resulted in the general strike in which the unions won the attention of the industrial world. Then the second meeting of the unions, known as the All-China Labor Conference, resulted in organization of a National Federation of Labor, representing 165 labor groups and about a half million workers.

FOLLOWING this the chief executive offices remained in Canton, but a branch was opened in Shanghai. City federations were organized in Shanghai, Nanking, Foochow, and other industrial cities. By the end of July the Shanghai Federation included 117 organizations with a membership of 218,859. Unions were further strengthened by combination, as for example when the Shanghai Wharf Coolies' Union was united with the wharf coolies' section of the Shanghai Federation under the name of the Shanghai Transportation Union.

With the general strike, the growing influence of the Soviet advisers to the Nationalist party became apparent, and the beginning of the rift between the moderates, who wished to better conditions under the existing order, and the Communists, who wanted a new order. To strengthen their position, the latter joined with the left wing of the Kuomintang and the decision to keep the movement out of politics went to the heaven of good ideas. Perhaps it should be said here that the Kuomintang did not seek the Soviet. On the contrary. Soviet envoys came to China prepared to win over the intelligentsia through organization and propaganda. But the intelligentsia were too firmly grounded in the ideas of China's social organization to prove amenable. At the same time Dr. Sun found himself with his political program outlined, on fire with ideals for a unified country, but with no machinery for putting them in force. The two forces combined after 1921 and Dr. Sun placed Russian advisers in the most important departments of the new government. Doubtless, remembering the Chinese tendency to extract from outside influences only those features of direct benefit to themselves, the Southerners thought to discard the Russians when they had absorbed the principles of organization and propaganda. But in this case they unloosed forces they could not control.

THE Soviet advisers to the labor unions found among the ignorant, inexperienced workers the right medium for spreading their doctrines and would not be discarded. As an observer of the Chinese industrial situation said, "The really rich field for the sort of thing that grew up in Russia from Lenin's harmless Marxian seed, is a land peopled with illiterate men who have been deliberately starved and repressed morally and mentally for many generations and upon whom a little politics, the proverbial

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little knowledge, together with a good deal of spiritual room, acts like a goblet of synthetic gin." So it proved. Opposed to capitalism as represented by the West and religion, these leaders lighted the smouldering resentment against "unequal treaties" and all that they suggest of western education, religion, industry. They seized upon the May 30 shooting to organize unions among the farmers, and when it is remembered that 75 percent of the Chinese are in agriculture, the importance of this cannot be overestimated.

THEY organized domestic and personal service groups. Anyone who has seen reliable servants turned out on an hour's notice, can appreciate their need for protection, but the example of the Wuchang Foreign Servants' Union is sufficient to show that their organization was not effected for the best interests of the servants. The wage scale is raised beyond the capacity of foreigners, especially missionaries, to pay, difficulties between servants and employers are to be referred back to the union for settlement, and three months' salary is to be paid to each servant on dismissal.

Not unnaturally the unions, drunk with new power, dazzled with the prospects of high wages and short hours, became dictatorial. The result was that the Chinese clerks in foreign firms in Wuchang, objecting to dictation by "coolie unions," formed a union of their own in accord with the purposes of the moderates.

The lefts also exploited the still more dangerous ignorance of the students. Many of these, it should be said at once, are sincerely anxious to devote their time, ability and funds to unify China. But many others are just boys and girls from native schools, delighted with the excitement of the new freedom, who go in for everything from birth control to psychoanalysis and include industrial matters on the way. Others are students returned from American and European colleges disgruntled because they are not appreciated. These students have their own unions, distribute handbills, address groups of workers, organize new unions, and act as leaders and advisers in strikes.

Finally, as the present crisis loomed, the lefts armed their unions and encouraged them to an aggressiveness that became intolerable alike to foreigners and Chinese. As a result came the split, the raiding of Red unions in Shanghai and Canton by the moderates, roused at last to drive Communism from the Nationalist movement. Lives were lost, much bitterness engendered, and the danger of the Nationalist aim through foreign aggression increased. For such aggression coming at this time will reinforce the Communists in their effort to establish the Third International.

ALTHOUGH the Russians brought the machinery which enabled the labor movement to arrive in five years at the point where, as T. Z. Koo says, British labor was twenty years ago, a number of other influences played a part. Chief of these is industry itself. For with the establishment of giant factories and filatures came the separation of employer and employe who had worked together in small units under the old handicraft regime. At the same time the workers were brought together in large numbers through the necessity for mass production. They became class-conscious, and aware too of the advantages and disadvantages of their new condition.

Post-war restlessness brought the stirring of independence among the women, questioning and revaluation of religion, the wrecking of the government, always temperamental among the national and international intrigues surrounding it, and gave voice to the already simmering resentment of the workers. All around them they saw motor cars, telephones, bicycles, electric lights. Behind plate-glass windows shimmered silks, watches, golden-oak furniture, porcelain bathroom fixtures. Billboards pictured cigarettes and wines. The working men in Europe and America had all these things, they were told. Why should they not have them? They worked from twelve to seventeen hours a day and heard the manager's motor car arrive and depart between nine and five. Why, they began to ask, should one man work twice as long as another for less, why should one walk and another ride? True, according to ancient Chinese literature and philosophy, it was the poor man's fate to "eat bitterness." But the translation from European writers told of a poor man, questioning, defiant, victorious.

At first these ideas came to their ears through the intellectual philanthropists, the students, and street storytellers. Then came the *pei-hwa*, or plain language simple enough for any man to learn, bringing newspapers, pamphlets, posters. To the factory worker they brought not only information, but self-respect, assurance. The opportunity for education opened in the new schools. To the workers came the knowledge that they were doing the same thing, living the same lives as workers all over China. Simultaneously, in the social and financial circles above them, other national developments were taking place. The whole idea of marriage was changing, foot-binding was giving way, women were going into colleges and offices, the same banking systems, law and court systems, and Chambers of Commerce were being established everywhere. Directly and indirectly labor was roused to a national consciousness. This in one way was no new thing, for a Chinese is a Chinese, first, last, and always, as witness the unified reaction of North and South to the Twenty-one Demands of Japan and the May 30 shooting. But now came the feeling that the state was more important than the family.

HERE then is one of the most powerful organizations in China, awakened to the national need, carrying on its own industrial revolution side by side with the political, social, educational, and religious groups, yet torn by dissension between moderates and Communists. During its five years of life it has done much good and much harm to its own cause and to China's. Will the Communist faction be put down within it and throughout China for the very simple reason that the milleniums-old social structure will not accept it, and if it would, there is nothing, as Mr. Koo points out, to "commune" with? China's problem is lack of wealth rather than unequal distribution.

There remain two other difficulties to overcome. Far-seeing labor leaders experienced in industry must be developed, and the ignorance and illiteracy which now make the workers so susceptible to propaganda and self-seeking influences must be dispelled.

These leaders, and education and experience, will come—not in a year or a decade, but in time. The point is that no matter what the status of the labor movement in the past, in the present, or in the future, its influence for good or ill has attained such importance that labor must be considered one of the determining factors in China's development as a nation.

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Well, Why Not?

By JEAN HARRIS ARNOLD

HAS I was modestly attempting to put together the two and two of expert opinions recently expressed in the pages of our magazines, the resulting four brought me up Bang! against this question.

It is a question for the stronger sex to answer, and one which they should answer convincingly.

Of course man is the stronger sex; he has proved that by innumerable, unanswerable arguments from the time of the Cro-Magnon family to the present day. Now he uses the milder method of magazine articles on the action of the pituitary glands, but it amounts to the same thing. The male sex is the stronger.

Yet curiously enough Nature, who presumably knows all about the pituitary glands and who is supposed to regard the race as the most important of all considerations, entrusts the first care of the young of the species to the female. The psychologists have discovered that the crucial period of human life, the time that fixes the bent of the individual and predetermines his after activities, comes in early childhood. Say we take the first three years as a fair average of the varying estimates of the psychological experts. Then Nature has inexorably handed over the first third of this invaluable period to women. Every mother is a woman. Mother's milk is the best possible nourishment for a child during his first year.

To be sure, this physical connection between children and their mothers is broken off at the end of this first year, but that is a hint that man has never taken. Since Nature has handed over the first year, he has handed over the other two. In fact, he has always trusted baby-tending and the care of children to his womenfolk. (The Spartans furnish the partial and most illuminating exception that proves this rule.) He has reserved to himself, since the dawn of civilization, the powers of government in church and state. He has furnished all the inspiration of art, poetry, architecture and music. He has done all the educating, down to the last fifty years, and even since then he has gone on inventing most of the new methods in education, as Froebel had previously invented the kindergarten. Meanwhile he has been discovering how to master and utilize the powers of the physical universe till he has entirely revolutionized the environment of the human race.

Yet, in spite of all the incentives to progress he has provided for these thousands of years, he is not satisfied with the results. His science and his art develop, but the race itself does not develop rapidly enough to keep up with them. Everybody knows that the millenium would come tomorrow if folks were ready for it, but they are not ready. And no wonder! All this while man has neglected the material out of which the human race is constructed. He has left his own children in their formative years to the sex that never invents and never discovers anything. He has been fumbling all around the wall and never pressed the button.

Imagine the results that would follow in a single generation if every father in the world should bend all his greater energy, his superior mental ability, his creative genius, to the care of his own children during their second and third years. After that, according to the psychologists, they might go to school or go back to their mothers, but they would never go to the dogs. He would have set their little wheels into the grooves in which they are to run smoothly all the rest of their days.

Of course, questions of detail intrude at this point. Would a father, while devoting himself to the development of his offspring, keep his business or profession going with one hand? Would he have his inner sanctum fitted up as a nursery? Would each office building and factory have a creche presided over by an expert psychologist? Or would the father resort to housekeeping as a side issue, leaving the breadwinning to the woman of the family? Would the summer vacation and the sabbatical year be enlarged and extended to cover this contingency? Would the government, as well as pensioning men who have served the state as soldiers, grant temporary pensions to men who were serving it by these exacting paternal duties? Or would these two years take the place of military service, perhaps, leaving the present form of military service to be rendered by men and women over thirty years of age and unmarried?

All these details and many other problems, such as the effect upon the growth of population, for instance, deserve careful consideration. Might it even be that woman, who has so meekly given up in succession her hoe, her spinning wheel, her bread oven, her kerosene lamp, who has turned over her darlings to the kindergarten and the Montesori experiment without a murmur, would take her last stand at the edge of the cradle and require another proof that she is the weaker sex? There seems no way of arranging the matter without turning our world as at present organized quite upside down. But if the perfection of the human race is at stake—

Well, why not?

MEN

I like men.
They stride about,
They reach in their pockets
And pull things out;

They look important,
They rock on their toes,
They lose all the buttons
Off of their clothes;

They throw away pipes,
They find them again.
Men are queer creatures;
I like men.

—Dorothy E. Reid, in Poetry

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The Golden Rule through Union Eyes

By ROBERT W. BRUÈRE

WHEN, in December, 1925, Arthur Nash—Golden Rule Nash—appealed to his employes to join the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union, he placated the opposition by promising that, if at the end of a year the workers were dissatisfied with the union, they should have an opportunity to vote it out. Before the end of the year the opposition had publicly recanted. The union was firmly established. What had happened? In March, 1927, I went to Cincinnati to see.

In appealing to his employes to join the union, Mr. Nash had said that neither he nor they might hope to gain "in a selfish way."* They had solved their problems so far as their relations with each other were concerned but they were in danger of falling into a "holier-than thou" attitude. The question he wanted them to face squarely was whether they were to be held up as "an example of an open shop and as an argument why avaricious organizations of capital should be allowed to exploit their laborers and grind their dollars out of the very sweat and blood of our brothers and sisters in their factories," or whether they were to join "wholeheartedly and unreservedly with this great group of fearless organized workers who are laboring to loose the bonds of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, to let the oppressed go free and to break their heavy yoke."

As a matter of fact, both he and they had had much to gain. Before turning to the Amalgamated, he had laid his problems before a group of local ministers. That statement was the climax of a well-matured program. It was wisely calculated to meet a delicate diplomatic situation. He had explained to them that when there were twenty-nine workers in his factory, one hundred workers, even three hundred, it had been possible for him to be a good shepherd to all; but when his payroll numbered thousands, that had become impossible. He has given me a report of that conference.

"'I called you brethren together'," he said, "'to ask you to take the organization which the church has for establishing the Kingdom of God in industry and come into my plant, go through it and find out everything that is not in harmony with the principles and teaching of Jesus. I want you to do that job for me.'

"YOU can imagine how they looked at each other and then at me. Finally some one spoke up and said, 'No one knows better than you do that the church has no organization to do a job of that kind.'

"I said, 'Do you mean to tell me that in this industrial age the church has no organization with which we can establish the Kingdom of God in industry? What is the job of the church?'

"It became a pathetic meeting when I put it that way. Most of them were pastors here in the city.

"I said, 'Well, brethren, I must have somebody to do this job; I cannot do it personally. I fear there are things that are wrong in my factory. I am not a practical head of an industry. When it comes to making a suit of clothes, I don't know anything about it. I must have somebody who knows this job and who will look after the interests and welfare of the workers. You men are telling me that the church can't do it.'"

So he turned to the union.

In his book, The Golden Rule in Business, Arthur Nash has told how back in 1919 he had bought "a bankrupt clothing factory, a sweatshop in fact, in which twenty-nine underfed and under-paid slaves were at work;" how, beginning on the first day, he raised wages from 50 per cent to 300 per cent and reduced hours from sixty to forty-five, finally to forty a week. About the technique of clothes manufacture he knew nothing. In this sweatshop he found one old woman, for example, sewing on buttons at $4 a week,—six days, sixty hours.

"AT first, I couldn't speak because almost instantly the face of my own mother came between that old lady and myself. . . . As I looked at her and saw only my mother, I finally blurted out: 'I don't know what it's worth to sew on buttons; I never sewed a button on; but your wages to begin with will be $12 per week'."

For him that was not sentimentality; it was of the essence of his naïve over-simplification of the Golden Rule. He had never sewed on a button or done the work of a designer, cutter, presser, machine operator, or bushelman. He knew nothing about the lay-out of a factory, or how to route cloth through a tailoring shop. He had gone into the clothing business with a capital of $60,000. During 1918, contracting his orders out to the owner of the sweatshop, he had lost $4,000. He debated with his family the wisdom of taking his loss and retreating to a farm.

Then, the war ended, the sweatshop owner wanted to return to Europe and Arthur Nash bought his factory. Without technical knowledge, he decided to put his faith in the Golden Rule. With the adoption of the forty-five-hour week and the raising of wages, production went up 30 per cent. Many of his employes were women. That they might have their Saturdays for housework and Sundays for decent leisure, he went to the five-day week. With the adoption of the forty-hour schedule, production held firm. In 1919, he did a business of $525,678; in 1920, of $1,580,700; in 1925, more than a million dollars a month.

Here was the "industrial miracle." Knowing nothing of tailoring, having relied exclusively on the Golden Rule and his skill as a salesman, he had created the most conspicuously successful business of its kind in the world. This happened in the days of reaction following the war. Invitations came to him from all parts of the country; from churchmen who wanted reassurance of the practical efficacy of their faith; from businessmen who hailed his demonstration of the superlative success of a non-union shop.

*See the Survey for January 1, 1926.

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From the beginning, he refused to align himself with the anti-union movement. As early as 1921, he put himself on record: "I am opposed to the open-shop movement, although the A. Nash Company is not unionized. So long as the present avaricious organizations of capital continue, I can conceive of no worse condition of abject servitude than for labor to be unorganized." Indeed, as early as 1919 he had visited Sidney Hillman, national president of the Amalgamated in New York.

Why, then, did he not at the outset do what he did in 1925? It is probable that even he could not analyze all his motives. But in his book and in his informal discussions he has made two things clear. First, in 1919, Cincinnati was the scene of a bitter labor war. It was about that time that the machinists, for example, attempted to organize the market and were defeated by the local employers backed by American Plan employers throughout the country. In that same year the Amalgamated made its drive to organize the men's clothing industry. Arthur Nash had just bought his shop; he needed credit with banks and woolen manufacturers. He felt unprepared to stand out against the solid anti-union sentiment of the business community into which he was just entering.

Second, the magic initial success of his Golden Rule policy made him skeptical of all mechanisms. During the discussion following his address at a ministers' conference, some one asked him why he did not outline his system in a book so that others might copy it.

"My brother," he said, "did I say anything about a system? I want to make a fundamental statement here: it is not possible to make a mechanism of love, brotherhood, or that something that bloweth where it listeth and we cannot tell whence it cometh or whither it goeth. You cannot make those things into a mechanism."

He had not then discovered that any general policy, though expressed in biblical language, must operate through techniques, through mechanisms. His too naïve disregard of technical mechanisms was largely responsible for the situation which led him finally to turn for help to Sidney Hillman and his technical associates in the organization of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union.

Unto Others

Why, at the peak of his success, did Arthur Nash invite the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union into his factory? What has come out of their work together the past fifteen months? The Editor of The Survey's Industry Department took these questions with him to the Nash factory in Cincinnati and gives here a vivid answer in terms of "Golden Rule" Nash's doing unto others and being done unto.

Having decided in 1919 not to antagonize his business community, he also decided not to employ any of the journeymen tailors whom the Amalgamated was attempting to organize. His factory was small. He associated with himself a few men of energy but of limited manufacturing experience, who trained key operatives and used these in turn to train others. Foremen tended to give work to friends, and friends to their friends' friends. The resulting organization closely resembled the machine organization of mushroom American municipalities. Nash clothes are manufactured to individual order after measurements taken by some two thousand salesmen—small-town clergymen, school teachers, barbers, pool-room operators, men whose principal asset is their list of personal acquaintances. Arthur Nash has never gone in for advertising; he has been his own advertiser and the mainspring of his sales force. As the business grew, he found it necessary to spend more time in the field. As the number of employes grew, he found it increasingly difficult to keep in personal touch with them. Subordinate executives lacked his ability to maintain morale and his vivid sense of the Golden Rule. What has happened in many frontier democracies began to happen here—favoritism, slipshod workmanship, a drift toward slack morale. He began to feel the need for more systematic organization, for the help of technical experts.

He turned to the Amalgamated, not only because it is one of the few unions that has kept possession of the skill of its trade, but also because in conformity with his Golden Rule ethics he believed that the experts he needed must be men who, in approaching shop problems, would recognize their responsibility to the workers as primary. Holding this belief, it was inevitable that in turning to the union he should arouse the opposition of his minor executives whose authority was threatened and of those groups of workers who had profited by the loose laisser faire factory organization.

There were for example, the cutters, men who earned the highest wages, who, in other markets, have generally been the spearhead of the union movement. In the Nash plant, these cutters are piece-workers. When orders came piling in, foremen tended to allow them to fix their own working time. They developed what was known as the "coal-chute gang." Cutters who wanted to make big money would turn up at the factory as early as five in the morning, slip down through the coal-chute, go to their tables, turn on the light and pile in at top speed. Some of them, it is said, worked as many as sixteen hours a day and in good years earned as high as $5,000.

This gold-rush spirit led to a primitive kind of competition. When the union entered the plant, cloth was not systematically distributed to the cutters. They themselves carried the great bales to their marking tables. Men would line up in front of the stacked woolens and fight for first pick. This is perhaps an extreme illustration but it indicates what tended to happen as a result of too naïve dependence on the spirit of the wind that bloweth where it listeth and too great disregard of the technique of managerial control.

It is now generally agreed that it was principally the power of Arthur Nash's own personality and the regard in which the workers held him that saved the factory from degenerating to the level of the unhappier phase of American municipal politics.

Sidney Hillman and his associates in the Amalgamated were quick to recognize the value of Arthur Nash's ability to lead the majority of his workers to an emotional commitment to his own big idea. When they organized the factory, instead of merging the Nash workers with the general body of men's clothing workers in Cincinnati, they chartered two separate locals in the Nash plant. They did everything in their power to conserve Arthur Nash's influence. They went about their work with scrupulous regard to their obligations as technical experts.

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A Nash subsidiary had been losing money. One of the first steps taken by the union was to call in its ablest technicians from Chicago and New York to cooperate with the management in the reorganization of the lay-out and the manufacturing procedure. They gave the shop executives their first systematic contact with science in management. Within a year that subsidiary had got out of the red.

It was particularly interesting to follow the flow of complaints from the Nash shops through the office of the union manager. During the week of my visit, I never once heard a grievance discussed in terms of abstract rights; every case was discussed not as an ethical but as a technical problem. For example, a worker reported to a shop chairman that her foreman was treating her unfairly. In the trade union office, it was not the foreman's fairness or unfairness but his technical competence that came under review. What was the technical difficulty behind the grievance? The union representative went to the shop. He found that the sleeve-lining trimmers were making insufficient allowance for the fold-over at the armhole seam and as a result, the lining stitcher had been pulling the lining so that it gathered and wrinkled the sleeve. He called this fact to the foreman's attention. With the correction of faulty technique, the grievance disappeared.

Let me transcribe a note or two from the union files:

The under-collar basters in Nash Company Shop Number 2 were having a little trouble with their work. Not being able to find the cause of it, the shop chairman asked the business agent to look into this matter. Upon investigation, the business agent found that the collars were too long so that the workers could not baste them. He suggested that the collar pattern be shortened and sitting down with the workers, basted a few of the collars in order to show them the correct way to baste them. The collars are now coming out O.K. . . .

In the vest shop, the pocket-tackers complained that they were blamed for the pockets not being well made, having holes in the corners, and the lining showing at the end of the pockets. Upon investigation, business representatives found that the section before them, i.e., the pocket-setters, were cutting pockets in too deep, which the welt could not cover when tacked. The pocket setters were shown how to avoid this error. . . .

In the pants shop, the right fly-stitchers complained that there was not enough work for the two workers that made up that section. This was a complaint of long standing. The union was called in and we suggested that this work be combined with the lining sewing section, thereby eliminating extra handling and having four people doing the combined operations instead of five. The fifth worker was placed on other work where she could earn as much or more than in her old job.

EVERY day for a week, I dropped in at the union's office and never did I fail to find them discussing technical problems the solution of which would obviate grievances, eliminate waste, improve quality, increase skill and justify maximum wages. The effect of the union's insistence upon sound technique is observable not only among the workers but also in the president's office.

There lies before me a letter written by a "humble worker" and inspired by the falling off in demand for Nash clothing which, for the first time, occurred during the winter of 1926-27. It reveals both the hold of Arthur Nash's personality upon his employes and, more particularly, the moral effect of the union's insistence that the success of the business, from both owner's and workers' points of view, depends upon good workmanship. A passage in the letter runs:

There is a former Nash salesman located in a mid-western Ohio city of 65,000 people who, because of poor workmanship, felt compelled to give up his agency and take on the line of another tailoring house. In telling me about it, his eyes fairly blazed with wrath as he said: "I believe that Arthur Nash is a religionist hypocrite. He has succeeded in advertising his business from one end of this country to the other by preaching the Golden Rule, yet he is not Golden Ruling the customers who wear Nash clothing. . . .

Well, in defending Mr. Nash against this man's unjust accusation, I think that I convinced this man that Mr. Nash was absolutely sincere, but that the fault lay with his subordinates whom he must trust to look after the details of putting the work out right. . . .

There is the case of the Methodist Episcopal minister who purchased a two-pants sack suit with the leg seams of both pair of pants so twisted around to one side that no presser could make them look presentable. He was wearing the suit when he told me about it and I know it was right. . . . We must not forget that every time a special order job is rejected, we are losing a customer. And it doesn't end there. Each one of these dissatisfied customers has friends who get to know about it. . . .

There will come a time, no telling how soon, when our reputation for inferior workmanship will make it exceedingly difficult to obtain orders. Then there will be curtailed production, shorter work weeks—and shorter pay—all the time. This thing I am discussing—inferior tailoring—is unquestionably the one weak spot in our whole business organization, especially since Mr. Nash now has our other affairs well in hand. No one knows this better than Mr. Nash. . . .

The worker who finds that his tendency is to speed up his work, just to slap it through any old way, in order to handle as many garments as possible for what it may mean to him on pay day, should realize that extreme selfishness prompts such an act. . . . I cannot ignore the fact that foremen and their assistants are largely responsible for the inferior tailoring of the past. . . . There is little doubt but that Mr. Nash suspects that the responsibility for inferior work is to be shared by the foremen and production workers alike. This is indicated by his talks which were directed to every one concerned. He has not picked out the foremen for direct censure any more than he has picked upon we workers. In this, he has played fair, just as was to be expected of him. At the same time, Mr. Nash knows that it is we workers who handle and perform the actual operations on these garments. Might it not, therefore, be perfectly natural for him to entertain a private opinion that the greater blame should lay against we workers? . . .

Now that we know just what is wrong and the cause of it, there is no use for anyone to attempt passing the buck. . . . The first essential is one that may be termed our "attitude stunt." Knowing that if the person has the right attitude toward what he is trying to accomplish he will make far more speedy progress than when a wrong attitude of mind is working against him all the time . . . . the first step is for each of us to find an honest answer to this one question: What is it that I have formed the habit of doing—what are the temptations to which I have been yielding—that could possibly cause me to do imperfect work?

Our union manager has truthfully said that it is just as easy to run a straight seam as a crooked one. . . . The second essential follows naturally enough. It is for every man worker to say to himself when he picks up a garment: "Here I am now working on something that I, myself, will own and wear. Now that all these other workers are putting quality into every move they make, all I need do is to see that my work is right, then I will have a garment of which I need not be ashamed when I step out in well-dressed company." Every woman worker should say to herself: "I am now helping to make a garment for my father, husband, sweetheart, or brother, as the case may be, and I must do my little best to have this job right." How many dissatisfied customers do you suppose we would have if all our workers assumed this sort of an attitude toward their jobs? . . .

And here is something that should concern every one of us very much, both as individual (*Continued on page* 184)

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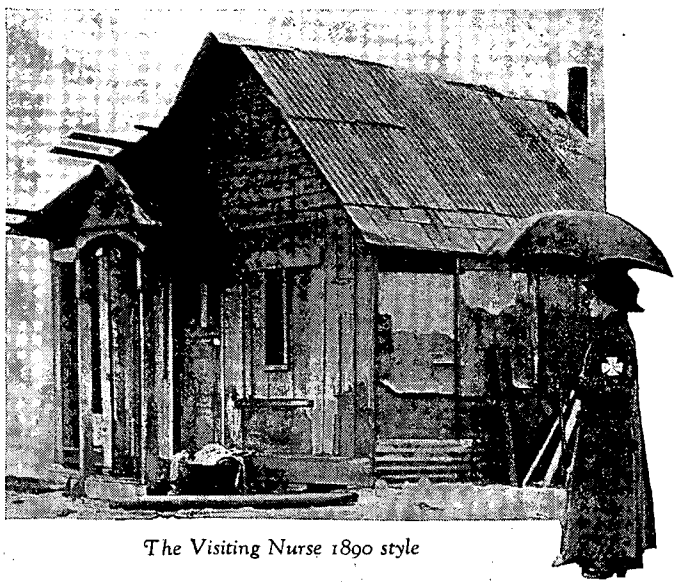
Adventures in Philanthropy

By OLIVE A. COLTON

AT the age of twelve I resolved to be a philanthropist. My sister and I had a nurse who was in love with a turnkey, and quite unknown to my parents she would walk us over to the jail. While she cast her charm over her suitor we children carried on happy little chats with the prisoners. One old woman always began to cry when she saw me, until a girl would swear at her, quite unpleasantly it seemed to me, and then she would continue munching burnt cornbread off a tin plate. This may not have been an ideal playground, but I have never regretted those few afternoons behind the bars, and by my father reading aloud Dickens every evening, a little of the meaning of the word poverty was dawning upon me. So much so, in fact, that a compelling interest forced me to pay stolen visits to the spot known as "Smoky Hollow," where children lived with whom I was not allowed to play. My admiring acquaintance with them was limited to a long absorbing stare, as I stood on the corner ready to make the best possible use of my feet should ogres issue forth to grab me.

One Sunday I heard a sermon, The Greatest of These is Charity, and afterward I noticed through the open window a dirty, ragged girl carrying a dirty, ragged baby. Instantly the minister's words flashed upon me. Here was my opportunity to emulate the philanthropists he had praised for giving money to the poor, and opening my shell-purse, a valued souvenir of Niagara Falls, I left the penny for the contribution-box and drew from my riches the remaining nickel, which I tossed to her. My heart swelled with pride: I was Benevolence at full-tide. Fancy my consternation when she hurled it back at me with fury. My pomposity instantly collapsed. I was no longer a Philanthropist: I was a frightened, humiliated, little girl who was learning the beginning of that long, baffling lesson, "the righteous considereth the *cause* of the poor."

From an aristocrat in her best frock, sitting of a Sunday morning in the best church, I became a democrat on the afternoon walk with my beloved father, which always ended in a visit to his freighters at the docks. His policy of treat-the-men-like-men-and-they'll-be-men or like-dogs-and-they'll-be-dogs made him welcome among the longshoremen and down-and-outers, whose perennial joke was his comment in a dull season, "Well, here comes the Gault with only half a cargo and two kinds of pie." As we sat on the piles waiting, I overheard those rough men exchange such remnants of wisdom as floated up from the wrecks of their lives and their discussions impressed but puzzled me.



The Visiting Nurse 1890 style

So-called charity work interested me more every year, and I served on several relief committees where, like Atropos, I wielded confident shears over the lives of the destitute. At Christmas we wanted everybody to be happy and thought having lots to eat on one day in the year would make them so. In a True Charity Society I carried a lily to what was later found to be an opium den; and I persuaded the guests of a summer hotel to furnish a shack for a tubercular family in spite of the fact that I knew they had put their contaminated mattress on top of the clean one.

I was much impressed by an English charwoman, who "broomed the 'alls at Banker Davis'" and who wished to be laid out in the decent crape brought from Birmingham forty years before. In giving me her alley address she explained, "It's not a 'ome Miss, it's just a shelter," and her dignity and courage gained by comparison with some of her employers whose torpid minds rested in the belief that all honest, industrious workers have enough to live on *if they are thrifty*. She was living proof of the need of old-age pensions, though at the time no one in Ohio had even dreamed of them.

Once a week I visited hospital wards, and there lingers in memory a wretched creature, bedridden five years, who asked eagerly for a fashion-sheet as she did want to see what the styles were; and at the Old Ladies Home, a victim of spinal trouble who, amid the chronic complaints of those able to be up and about, repeatedly assured me that she had every comfort.

THROUGH trying to help individuals I soon progressed to organized charity with card indexes, and my maiden venture on a board of charity was with a Day Nursery. A company gave us the use of an abandoned house near the factory. I helped tack down the carpet so zealously that I was in bed for a week. We begged tables and chairs, while clocks came from far and near, the fact not deterring the gift that they had not gone at home and probably would not get a new start merely by change of scene. As a member of the house committee, my part was to go over the matron's accounts with another member who scrutinized every cent. Perceiving my lack of attention as to whether the matron had or had not spent a dime too much in Mis-

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cellaneous, she exclaimed: "My husband says I save him many a penny." This I did not doubt, and as he was head of the company which had given the house, we bore like sycophants her daily criticisms. At that time it seemed a beautiful thought to have the children watched over while "the poor mothers" went to work. The army of them starting out every morning seemed part of the regular order of the universe.

Eighteen friends came to my home in 1902 to form the Nurses' Aid Society, that the King's Daughters' visiting nurse might be supplied with comforts for the sick poor. This group grew so rapidly that it was soon able to have its own nurses, but later, to avoid confusion in the public mind and to make for efficiency, it united with the King's Daughters and then with the Thalians, whom it had persuaded to start a nursing service for the tubercular. The organization is still prospering as the District Nurse Association. Instead of being mere angels of mercy caring for the sick, they soon came to be expected to teach hygiene and diagnose the family trouble. This enabled them to do the preventive work that would afterward lift more families to the level of normal living. In those early days I had an instant solution for every problem and it is just possible that much of the Association's success was due to its not taking all the advice so freely offered. Three experiences of those years linger vividly etched on my mind.

Miss Colton starts for Smoky Hollow

I recall going with the nurse to the hovel of a woman who was cruel to her blind, crippled mother. She refused to let me in, and for some time we shouted through the door. Finally she opened the door into as filthy a room as Victor Hugo ever described. Her defense was that her mother was "an awful chore"; my contention that a mother had an "inherited right" to a daughter's care.

The second experience was with a woman whose drunken husband terrorized the neighborhood as Jack the Peeper. After much delay she was persuaded to swear out a warrant against him, and the humane officer was to be at the police station to help her. That afternoon each informed me the other had not kept the appointment, and this happened a second and a third time. En route to the woman's home I composed a particularly fine speech of reproof. But it was never delivered, for when I found her in bed and asked why she had not kept her word, she merely turned down the cover over a new-born babe. Finally securing the warrant, she refused to testify against her husband and he was discharged. Fear of his threats made her prefer the old evil to new terrors. Later one child lost two fingers playing on the railroad track, in the absence of city playgrounds, and when another developed typhoid I took it, with her consent, to the hospital. Though I knew she had good care and it seemed her only chance of recovery, her sudden death was laid at my door, and I became in that neighborhood a kind of friendly murderer. In those days, victims of typhoid died by God's will or the machinations of the Devil, I being the latter's emissary.

The third experience was with a grateful washwoman whose invalid husband had long been under the nurse's care. Her youngest child was an epileptic and as he required constant attention, the nurse finally took him to the State Institution. There the mother paid him happy visits, and though my part had been but to write the letter for his admission, the mother remained under the misapprehension that I had unlocked the door and kept the bread and cake in his mouth there, and every year on the anniversary of his departure she left at my door a bouquet from her little garden, my absence in Europe not deterring her.

Lest any one think that my youthful connection with the Social Service Federation was that of a pioneer, allow me to record that I was not in the preface or the first chapter, and when I entered at the end of the second chapter it was not, I regret to admit, to help the organization but to wish upon it my particular troubles.

At six one morning in 1904, I was phoned by St. Vincent's Hospital that a patient whom I had asked them to take from the Infirmary the day before, had died, and as the mortuary chapel was being painted they asked me to make immediate disposal of the remains. An hour later the woman's brother insisted that she was very much alive at the Infirmary, from which she had long begged to be taken. But the ambulance-men, to the consternation of that institution, had removed in her stead a dying woman, who quickly passed away and just escaped being buried under the wrong name. Having seen in the newspaper that a group of charity workers was to meet that afternoon, I went to ask what could be done to prevent the repetition of such horrors. While waiting to speak my own little piece, I heard them explain that the purpose of the meeting was to establish a central clearing-house for all the charities, and then and there I resolved to let the dead bury the dead and to remain to hear about their plans for the living. When I joined them they had given up two of their customs, the opening prayer and the concluding refreshments, so you can judge for yourselves what had been the advantage of being a pioneer.

Whatever my titles, my real role was that of Official Worrier. I rose early with plans for the Federation, and I thought

They organized "to comfort the sick poor" of Toledo and grew into

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of them in the hours around midnight. I talked anxiously to my friends about them and like the Ancient Mariner I told the story to whom ever would listen.

There is no time to tell of the disappointments, the hopes deferred, and the growing pains of our many mistakes. It was "uphill all the way," à la Christina Rossetti, but the spirit of some of the workers made it an enlarging experience. The first president was equally loved by rich and poor and her pocketbook was a kind of Federal Reserve to stabilize the credit, for the Federation had banked first in a bureau-drawer. A friend gave the use of a room in her building, partly from generosity and partly to keep us from talking to her any more on the subject, and there a charity worker was installed at the princely salary of fifty cents a morning. The rounds of the furniture stores were made so successfully that there were forty chairs to rest on until our laurels should be ready. But at regular intervals there was a rumor that the Federation was dying, and the financial breath of life was kept with difficulty in its frail body. When its vitality was particularly low and there was only $1.69 to pay the month's bills of $150, the women gave a fair.

No longer in the rôle of Official Worrier

Probably the masculine mind cannot comprehend why through all the ages women have given fairs for the lost causes that they wanted to find again. Perhaps it has been because until recently so few women have had their own check-books that they just had to get out their needles and rolling-pins. That fancy-work and delicatessen sale nourished the cause for a few months longer. The astonishment when there were two more dollars in the bank than the treasurer could account for is still reflected in the minutes for that day, and when the Shriners sent the Federation a check for $375 it seemed we had become a world power.

If the public was loath to accept the new plan, the charities themselves were no less reluctant. They feared to lose control, and races and religions looked askance at each other. Perhaps there is strength in union because in the difficult process of uniting, all the latent weaknesses arise and must be overcome. However, some of the most unwilling societies saw the benefit when the Thalians proposed a joint tag-day, the money to be divided equally among the enrolled organizations. There were so many diverse opinions that the meetings were never dull, for the representative of the Adams Street Mission could be counted upon to maintain the affirmative on all questions painfully slowly, but no less painfully persistently, while the delegate from the Day Nursery upheld the negative in tart retorts. It was after one such prolonged dialogue that a member remarked that it was easy to have charity for the poor—the hard part was to be charitable toward the other workers.

As the work became better understood some thought they could rest on their laurels but, alas, this turned out to be rue. The president had visited the Federation in Baltimore and suggested that a trained worker be engaged. This broke up the meeting, for in addition to the salary, which seemed a staggering sum, there was the added difficulty of understanding just what a trained worker was. Hadn't the superintendent given her life blood to the work? Didn't she know personally every man, woman and child in Toledo? Did we expect to put charity on a cold business basis, and instead of bread for the hungry ask them questions about their ancestry? While as for records, was it not in the Bible you should not let your right hand know what your left was doing? It was well and good in theory but there was too much red tape. Yet here it must be told that the faithful service given by that superintendent can never be forgotten by those who saw it year after year. With her own troubles unspoken, she heard so patiently and so kindly all day long those who came, and she tried to help them so wisely, that she actually seemed to make her own burdens less by taking those of others upon her. One swallow may not make a summer, but one little frail woman for many a weary month made a Federation.

Then a rumor grew that a wealthy citizen had been making inquiries about the Federation, and some business men thought that, as in Cleveland, the Commerce Club should elect representatives to the board. When they eventually did that and the big financial worries of that little group were over, we had the sensations of mothers and fathers when they see the offspring they struggled to raise and could scarcely afford to educate, come down the aisle on the arm of a good man able to support her.

By this time I was promoted, or demoted, from my usual office of vice-president of various associations, to their advisory boards. I was glad to help establish the Luella Cummings Home for Girls. One winter a Child Welfare Exhibit required much of the thought and time of an old maid, expected to plan it from the standpoint of both mother and child, and naturally the Red Cross enlisted my sympathies to do a bit during the War. But two incidents had made a decided change in my ideas and the evolution of thought, or what I like to believe was evolution, turned my attention to preventive measures.

First, Mrs. Florence Kelley of the National Consumers' League, pointed out in an address in Toledo the respon-

the District Nurse Association, trained, active and efficient in 1927

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sibility of consumers for the working conditions of those who make and distribute the things we use, and she spoke of the prevention of sickness and misfortune through good wages, shorter hours and wholesome surroundings. Her description of the benevolent woman who gave much of her income to help children in New York, when the dividends really came from child labor in the cotton mills of the South, would not go out of mind, particularly as I was enjoying just then a little extra from some coal stock of a company that had refused to give its miners a living wage.

SECOND, the seeds of woman suffrage were germinating. One day I had gone to a mysterious office in the Court House to appeal to the relief agent for needy families. This official drank, and according to his condition each day, he would give the bread of life or withhold it. Much disturbed, the District Nurse Committee had returned home to ask fathers, husbands, brothers and sons why they had voted to put such a man in office. It then developed that not one of them knew who he was, though they had intrusted him with $60,000 a year of their taxes. Little by little I learned from charity work that the trail of politics is over us all and that courts are clogged and institutions crowded from misfits in government, from public indifference and economic greed. Thereafter politics and industry became my chief concern. In trying to make women intelligent, conscientious citizens, I feel the League of Women Voters is doing constructive work for progress, and the Consumers' League, by its unbiased research, is on the road to justice for more people.

When the Community Chest was organized and a citizen's generosity was rated by the size of his contribution, far from realizing my childish dream of being a philanthropist, I was among the smallest givers. Although a believer in central financing, so few are ready to give for prevention instead of relief that I have always wanted my bit to go toward education of the public on preventive measures. When daily accidents used to occur at the corner where I lived and passersby saw the bleeding victims, the majority stopped and wanted to do something for them; but when the voters were asked to appropriate money for traffic-signals to prevent accidents, there was little public interest. For lack of imagination to visualize the trouble they do not see, many good people have accident hearts and not traffic-signal generosity.

Of course some of the societies included in the Chest do preventive work, and I realize there must still be relief work, but I sometimes think that if the members would work as hard for prevention they could, in the coming years, do away with the need for some of the organizations. Moreover I cannot grasp how it can be really a *community* chest when over 80 per cent of the citizens have no voice in its management. As women have done charity work throughout the ages, it would seem that they might still be trusted to work with men for the common good. The charities themselves must have some slight idea of their own field, but they too are denied a word in the distribution of the money, and the laboring people, the largest group in any city, who are urged to give as true Americans, have no way of expressing how they would like the money apportioned. This decision is left to successful business men of recognized integrity. Though some of these men are my friends and I know well their earnest intentions and business sagacity, might it not be wise to add men and women with a knowledge of the basic causes of poverty? To ensure permanence and general good-will, I believe that the Community Chest should have a better balanced board, not by adding one woman, or one laboring man, but by having a fair representation from different groups of citizens and the included organizations.

Yearly I hand out golden nuggets of wisdom to the enthusiastic solicitors who come for my quota. They have so fine a spirit of civic enterprise that I am always torn between a regret in crushing their budding hope and a sense of duty to testify to the light as I see it. They bear with me with invincible courtesy and then, undoubtedly cheering themselves with remembered slogans for knockers, they go back to the noon singing about all pulling together. However, there was once a young man who said: "Why I never thought of that, I guess your're right." But he was evidently not a good salesman and his place was filled.

To find the cause of misfortune, should we not go deeper and learn from those who have suffered most from the mistakes of our civilization what we did not do in our ignorance, or in our negligence, or alas, in our selfishness, that they could not keep abreast of community life? Philanthropy has developed here from the old-fashioned "God bless you" to the newer conception of justice which would give more people opportunity to develop physically, mentally and spiritually. The prevention of unemployment, social insurance, betters wages and shorter hours, birth control, playgrounds, better housing and a more liberal education for adult and child—these with the growing sense of personal, industrial and community responsibility would lessen the demands for charity. But a renewed faith in democracy with a discernment of the value of beauty and the things of the spirit, would also undoubtedly make for the well-being of the whole nation. The late Ambassador Walter Page summed it all up in this way:

> The only acceptable measure of any civilization is the extent to which it improves the condition of the common people. A few cultured and university-trained men at the top, a few ancient families living in luxury, a few painters and poets and statesmen and generals—these things do not constitute a satisfactory state of society: the real test is the extent to which the masses participate in education, in the necessities and comforts of existence, in the right of self-evolution and self-expression, in that equality of opportunity which is the basis of social progress.

MY adventures in philanthropy are over. I believe now that the truth alone can make us free, that more people must have ways of hearing it, that permanent progress can come only by a recognition of the common brotherhood of all. At times it seems that the world is not quite ready for my way of saving it, and that Atlas does not want women to help bear the weight of it, or to show him how to make ballast out of a burden. Then again it may be that Providence working with, or perhaps against, Congress can eventually bring about the necessary changes. Hence I am a candidate now only for membership in that most promising society of the future, The Leave It to Evolution League, and I shall be busy enough learning to obey the most difficult of all our laws, that of love, and content if I have the privilege of working with the small group of selfless men and women, usually obscure but occasionally of passing prominence, on the age-long task of making an ideal real.

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Though Doctors Disagree

Cooperative Clinics are Open to One out of Three People in Berlin

By MICHAEL M. DAVIS

EXCEPT for the absence of steins one might have thought that this big waiting room in Berlin was a café. There was an atmosphere of quiet sociability among the hundred people seated in fours or fives around little tables. There was subdued talking; some persons were reading; others simply waiting. Every few moments a young white-gowned attendant appeared from the inner regions and called a name as a page calls in a club, only less loudly, and having found the patient named, escorted him to the doctor.

The courteous *mädchen* at the admission desk asked me to wait until the chief physician was disengaged. Standing to one side I watched the new arrivals that followed me. They showed a ticket of membership at the desk; no questions were asked unless something on their ticket was not clear; they paid no fees, for they or the breadwinners of families were already contributors in weekly payments to the insurance society which, federated with others of its kind in Berlin, has set up this and thirty-seven other clinics to furnish medical service to a million and a half persons out of the four million inhabitants of the greater city.

When you have visited the average large clinic in America, where most patients must wait and hope; when you have seen the herded men, women and children in the teaching clinics of the German universities or the throngs of persons in the great out-patient departments of London, well advertised as recipients of charity in the hospitals' annual reports—you are prepared, as I was, to appreciate the dignity and individuality which accompany organized medical service under self-support. German insurance societies, formed under sickness insurance laws, are not governmental bodies but are mutually self-governing organizations of insured persons and their employers. Like our commercial life insurance societies, though these German organizations are not commercial in our sense, they are under state supervision. These societies may be small organizations composed of the employes of a single establishment. The larger and more significant societies are formed on a district basis. All employed persons where wages do not exceed a specified amount must belong to some sickness insurance society. Two-thirds of the cost is paid by the insured person, one-third by his employer. Payment of half to two-thirds of wages during illness and medical care during sickness are the two chief benefits. The society must provide these and it may also, at its discretion, furnish medical care for members of the families of the insured. On the governing body of the society two-thirds of the members represent the insured persons, one-third, the employers. This body elects a managing committee which, inturn, chooses the executive officers.

Some nineteen million Germans are insured in about seven thousand such societies united in a network of federations: federation according to the kind of society, federations for cities and districts, with a federation of federations for the whole of Germany. Thus it is the federation of the sickness insurance societies of Berlin under whose auspices the thirty-eight clinics for furnishing medical care to members and their families are now maintained.

While I had heard rumors about these clinics before leaving America and had been given a brief account of them at the office of the Health Section of the League of Nations in Geneva, the extent of their organization and the completeness of their equipment and service came as a surprise.

It was hard to believe that the system had grown up within two and a half years. I talked with Doctor Walter Pryll, their effective organizer and medical supervisor and now medical advisor of the corresponding federation of societies for all Germany. He is an executive with a vision, as well as a medical man. He said to me:

> We are giving our members and their families better treatment than they have ever had before. They have free choice among all the clinics and physicians in our system. That puts each clinic on its mettle to hold a patient by developing mutual interest between him and the clinic doctor. We give our physicians equipment and assistants to work with, laboratory facilities and opportunities for consultation which doctors cannot possibly have in private practice among working people. We are giving them adequate salaries; the same schedule provided in the state and municipal government services, with similar retirement allowances for old age and pensions to the physicians' widows in case of death. In Germany these government salaries have proved sufficient to attract and retain a very satisfactory type of man.
>
> We are doing everything we can, also, to make these clinics centers of prevention as well as cure. Our sixteen prenatal clinics, and our "sports advisory clinic" are examples. And we are giving emphasis also to those chronic illnesses which partially disable the adult worker, endeavoring to diminish their incidence or severity when they cannot be cured.

In no other city, writes Mr. Davis, does so large a system of organized medical service exist under one management. It grew out of the physician's strike of 1923 and is the largest scale experiment in the world in applying the economies of organization to the treatment of sickness. Mr. Davis viewed it against his background of studies as executive secretary of the Committee on Dispensary Development of the United Hospital Fund of New York

Convenient to the waiting-room in the Oranien-Strasse Clinic, which I have described, are some fifteen departments given over to the chief specialties of medicine and surgery; a well-equipped x-ray room, a small laboratory (a central laboratory for all Berlin is utilized for major work), a clinic for the examination and advice of expectant mothers (prenatal clinic) and the "sports-advisory clinic" in which young people of high-school age

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are examined as to their ability to undertake various forms of athletics and counseled in building themselves up.

The clinic in the Oranien-Strasse receives about seven hundred persons a day, nearly twice the number attending the Cornell Clinic in New York. It is open six hours daily, the afternoon period running until half-past six for the convenience of day workers. On Sunday it is open for one hour, at least in some departments. Each doctor has a private room where he receives patients individually, with nurse or clerk in attendance. Each patient, when told to return for further treatment, has a definite appointment by day and hour.

The thirty-eight clinics which, under the supervision of the city federation, cover Greater Berlin, range in size from the one just described to small clinics in the outlying sections with only one department, one or two physicians, caring for adults and children, and receiving fifty to seventy-five patients a day. In 1925 the whole system received an average of more than 6,000 visits daily, or more than 1,600,000 a year. There is probably no other community in the world with so large a system of organized medical service under one management. In Berlin the people served are nearly all workmen and their families. The middle and professional classes are hardly represented.

A week spent in visiting several of these clinics, talking with physicians on their staffs, with officials at the office of the central federation, and with outside doctors and other critics, is much too short a time for a thorough study. The medical societies and most medical educators expressed a profound and unremitting antagonism to the centralized organization of medical service which this Berlin system represents. "Cheap hireling doctors," said one university professor of medicine. "One more effort of the sickness insurance societies to establish medical slavery," said the president of a physician's association. The issues were too live, the sentiment too keen, to expect balanced judgments on either side. The anticipated report on Health Insurance by the Health Section of the League of Nations may give a detached and scientific view.

On the vital question of the quality of medical personnel and of service rendered patients, a visitor, even if a doctor, could not apply any conclusive test. One can report only impressions of favorable working conditions, an interested and active-minded type of physician, and records which, while not full as in the best teaching clinics, are systematically and definitely written out. The basis of comparison for any such system as this must of course be with the general medical practice of the community, not with the service in the office of expensive specialists or in selected clinics devoted to teaching and research.

PATIENTS who need a doctor's care at home are also served by physicians on the staff. It is, however, the rule that should the treatment of a patient be begun by a physician at the clinic and the patient need attention at home, the same physician must continue to carry the case.

Hospital service is not included, for although a few societies have small institutions, hospitals in Berlin and elsewhere in Germany are in the main under public control. The sickness insurance societies pay these public hospitals a per capita rate for members or their dependents. A number of societies, however, have their own sanatoria for tuberculosis and convalescent homes.

Early in 1926 a central record system was started, which was being gradually put into effect in the clinics during the period of my visit, and which summarized upon a Health Card (*Gesundheits-Karte*) all the essential points of the patient's condition and treatment. This card will serve as a guide to his entire medical history in whatever clinics he may be treated during the course of years. A full-blown statistical scheme for recording administrative data of attendance and medical data as to kinds of diseases treated, classified by age, sex, and in other ways, was also in course of introduction. The central office was transferring the information to punch cards which were in turn to be put through tabulating machines for systematic analysis and study.

A large central laboratory, or diagnostic institute, serves the whole system, its staff consisting of eight doctors, twenty technicians, and three consultants, (described as university professors) who are paid retaining fees for an hour's daily service.

THERE is a long history behind these clinics, Doctor Pryll told me, but they were forced into a sudden organized growth by the doctors' strike of 1923.

As you know, he said, German health insurance has, since its inception over forty years ago, involved continual adjustment between the bodies of physicians and the insurance societies as to the conditions of medical service. The war, the inflation of the currency and its subsequent stabilization naturally upset things. Negotiations as to the amount and manner of payment led, unfortunately, to an impasse in 1923 when the doctors, under the leadership of the National Association of the Physicians of Germany, actually went on strike.

Imagine what it meant in Berlin to have doctors refuse to provide medical service for our hundreds of thousands of insured members and their families! The hospitals, of course, remained in action and not a few doctors worked for us despite their organization. The terms laid down by the doctors' organization seemed to us both financially impossible and intrinsically undesirable. We took the bit in our teeth. There had been local doctors' strikes before in Germany at various times and places, but nothing so serious or extensive as this of 1923. A number of insurance societies had started specialty clinics for their members and there were a few general ones. In Berlin, for example, we already had our central diagnostic laboratory, and prenatal and dental clinics under the auspices of some of the district societies of our Berlin federation. Facing the crisis three years ago, we decided to set up a system of medical service through clinics.

By the beginning of 1924 we had sixteen such clinics; by the end of 1924 the number had doubled; during 1925 and in 1926 the number increased to thirty-eight, although more recently our chief effort has been toward their improvement in equipment, organization and interrelationships.

The acuteness of the contest is difficult to exaggerate. It is hardly possible to believe that a body of professional men would go to such lengths in trade-union warfare against an organized effort on the part of a large number of persons to provide medical service under conditions which are satisfactory to them and are within their means. I can only suggest the bitterness of the struggle by telling you that I had letters threatening my life and that my wife was visited by wives of physicians we had known socially, who sought to frighten her into calling me off. The physicians coming on our staff practically wiped themselves out of the official German medical organizations, and that is one reason why we have thought it fair to permit our men, particularly the older ones, to retain a little time for private practice so that all their bridges shall not be burnt behind them.

We have come to believe that our system of providing medical service through well-organized clinics, with a staff of doctors able to treat patients in their homes when needed, is fundamentally sound in principle and in line with the trend of scientific modern medicine. The project has been thought of by some as a stroke of economy. It (*Continued on page* 192)

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Ramsay MacDonald Today

By S. K. RATCLIFFE

RAMSAY MacDONALD was prime minister of Britain from January to November, 1924. He was so violently repudiated in the general election of that year (an election won by the miserable trick of the Zinovieff letter), that some millions of English people were convinced that the present leader of the Labor Party could never again be the head of a government. Let us see what two and a half years of Tory rule, under a prime minister driven by his die-hards, have done for British Labor. How does Ramsay MacDonald stand today?

He is the leader, the only visible leader, of a party which contains certain elements that are hostile to him. MacDonald is a parliamentarian, a constitutionalist. Properly speaking, he belongs to the political left centre. There are sections of the labor unions which are to the right of him, and others, of course, which are far to his left. There are groups, both Labor and Liberal, which, especially in imperial policy, would take a much more radical stand than he has been able to do—witness his surrender when in office to the big-navy men and his sanctioning of coercive action in India; or note the caution during the China crisis of his statements as to the expeditionary force. As prime minister, he is aware, he would have been compelled to take action in the Far East not materially different from that of the Baldwin government; and the knowledge of this throws into plain relief the opposition between the political leader of the Labor Party and certain large bodies of the rank and file.

THEY have been calling for withdrawal from China, thereby greatly embarrassing the Labor front bench in Parliament. In foreign and imperial policy Ramsay MacDonald stands midway between the frank imperialism of J. H. Thomas and the radical internationalism of such contrasted types as John Wheatley of the Clyde and H. N. Brailsford, until recently editor of the New Leader.

Mention of Brailsford, who is by far the most powerful journalist in the Labor movement, is a reminder of the very interesting fact that Ramsay MacDonald, whom the outside world regards as a fine representative of intellectualist labor, has lost the support of many men and women naturally belonging to his own division of the party. They indict him in varying terms. Some assert that he is out of touch with the dominant industrial section; others, that as party leader he displays a characteristic which Americans associate with Woodrow Wilson—the habit of playing a lone hand and keeping his own counsel. Brailsford's assault was comprehensive and extraordinarily fierce, and it included the very serious accusation that, under MacDonald, the Labor Party had been committed to a barren course of opposition and was neglecting the essential business of thinking out and proclaiming new positive policies—on coal, industrial control, agriculture, the standard wage, and what not.

Nevertheless, the position of Ramsay MacDonald is secure. He remains the unchallenged leader of the Labor Party. There is no alternative leader in sight. There is, at present, no rival who need cause him an hour's uneasiness. Certain districts—in Wales, in Scotland, in the north of England—are assumed to be antagonistic to him; but if, with them as with any others, there is need of a star speaker for a mass meeting, the first choice is Mac and the second is not worth bothering about. His place, so far as the country is concerned, is unaltered. As for the House of Commons, one has merely to name the few men who, in the anti-Labor press, are from time to time suggested as possible leaders—John Wheatley, J. H. Thomas, Oswald Mosley. They sound like echoes.

IT may perhaps be thought that after the great strikes of 1926 Ramsay MacDonald's personal standing in the labor movement could not fail to be gravely impaired. During a great industrial conflict, for example, a parliamentary leader is necessarily of little account, and MacDonald was a party to the humiliating submission which ended the general strike of May, while he was conspicuously out of things from beginning to end of the half-year's coal stoppage. True; but here is the main result of those unprecedented experiences: Labor is admittedly far stronger by reason of last year's crushing defeats than it was in 1924; its coming successes at the polls are taken for granted by Conservatives and Liberals alike, and no one is found seriously to dispute the inference made by the party headquarters that political Labor is certain of advancing at the expense of the direct-actionists. The Baldwin government in 1926 set out to destroy the menace of the general strike (Labor's biggest weapon in the economic field). Needless to say, it did not intend to restore and enlarge the political power of Labor. But that is what it did.

I RETURN to the personal position of Ramsay MacDonald. He is the leader, says an influential opponent, of a party that is an alliance of incongruous elements. That may be; but he is the one and only leader, and his party after the coming election may number half the total membership of the Commons. It cannot, we estimate, be more than that, for Labor so far shows no sign of making a dent on the rural constituencies. But in those circumstances Ramsay MacDonald, and seemingly no other, will have it in his power to decide the destinies of Britain. He has a fine endowment of political and intellectual gifts, of personality, of eloquence. His party is the party of tomorrow. In the world of European affairs there is today no more interesting and important personal question than the one that concerns his future.

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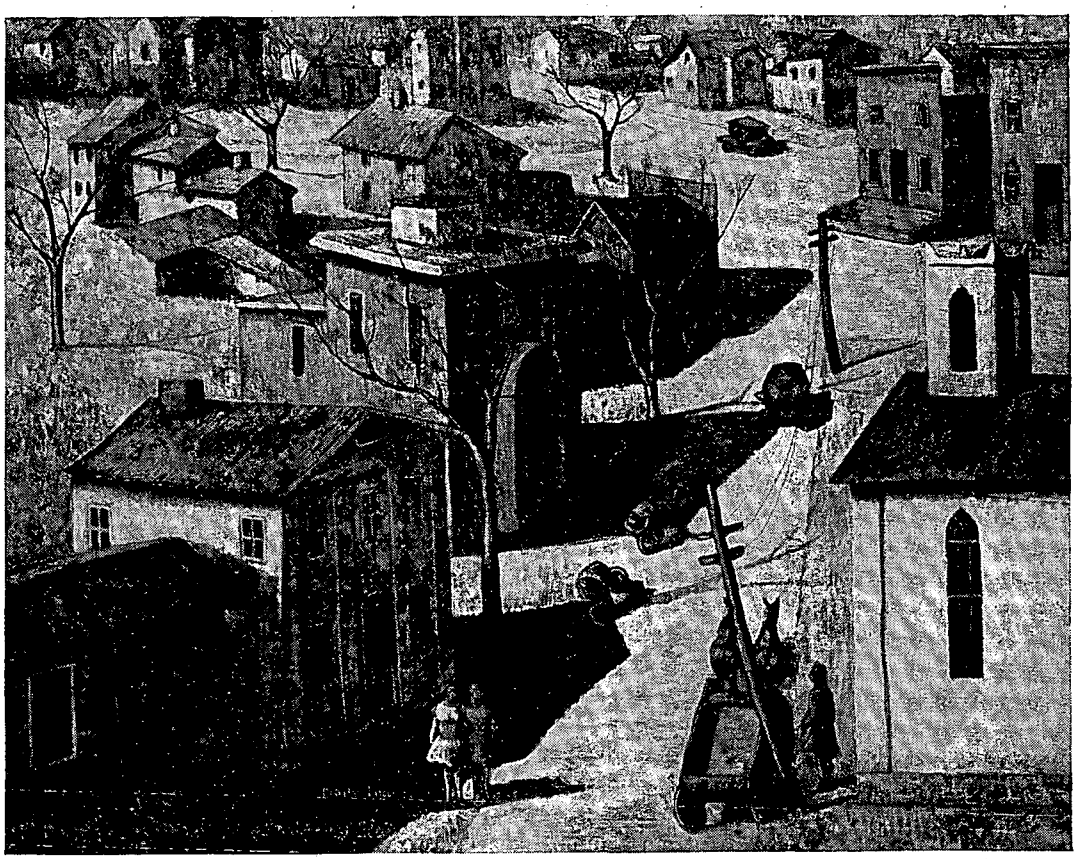
MID-AMERICA---Three Paintings by Molly Luce



The Artists' Gallery, N. Y.

An Ohio village

Molly Luce is from the middle west. Although she has taken Pieter Breughel, of sixteenth century Flanders, as her master, the scene she paints, wherever circumstances move her about, is the familiar, native, homely scene. Instead of Breughel's exact details, Molly Luce puts villages and large stretches of town and country upon small canvases with the meticulous construction, and some of the crudity, of a delighted child with toy buildings, people and animals. With her as yet the "accumulation of little facts" does not build a powerful life. It is as if her paintings recorded things remembered from a distance rather than actually visualized and shared. That record is made with affection and good humor always; there is no Main Street Babbitt acerbity in her mind. Her world is leisured. A many-windowed red brick factory, near which scores of tiny figures glide about on a frozen pond, has no more activity than the snowy hills in the distance; the huge cylinders of the grain elevators are as artificial as slag heaps in the midst of women's chores. People stroll, ride or slide, and sit out of doors.

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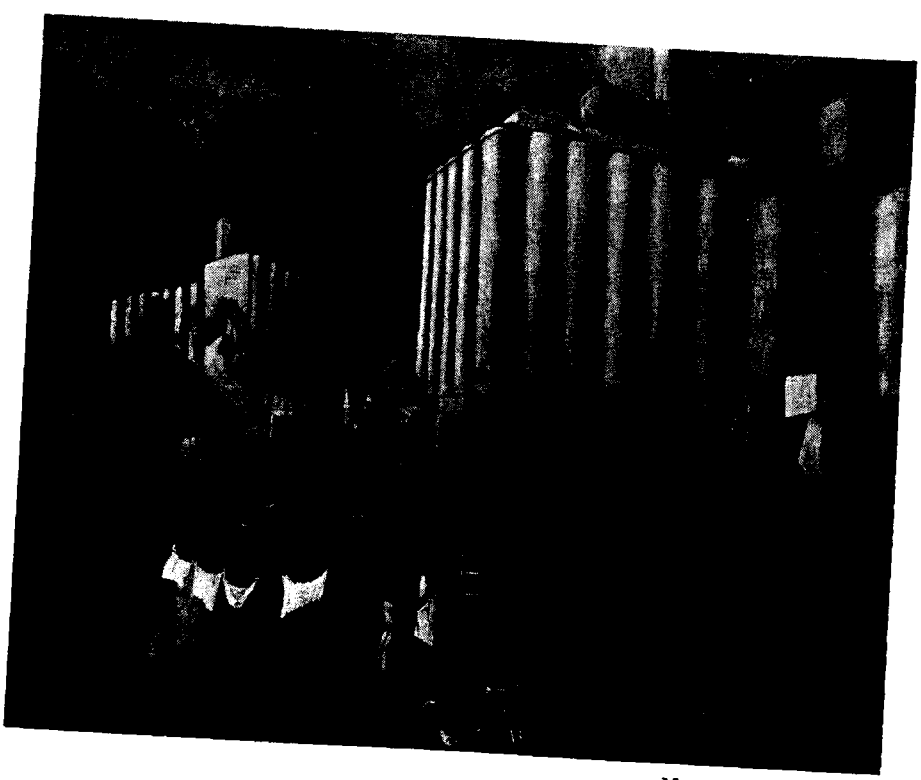
Minneapolis in winter The Artists' Gallery, N. Y.



Back yards of Minneapolis Montross Gallery, N. Y.

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Horizon Lines

A Monthly Survey of Our New International Frontiers

By JAMES G. McDONALD

THE international scene is full of contrasts. Developments, surprisingly hopeful, compete for our interest with events tragic and portentous. Political and economic progress in western and central Europe is balanced by new manifestations of national rivalries in the Balkans and by Soviet Russia's striking out against what she believes to be a capitalistic plot of encirclement. Under League of Nations auspices, preparatory economic and disarmament conferences are laboring to clear a way through the dense forest of conflicting national interests and prejudices. The United States, cooperating worthily at Geneva in the League's valiant pioneering, continues by its policy towards Mexico and Nicaragua to encourage the imperialists. Meanwhile, over all the stage hangs the ominous cloud of embattled Chinese Nationalism. Embittered against the west by the powers' actions and inactions and by skillful Bolshevik propaganda, unafraid of diplomatic or military threats, China today unmasks the pitiful futilities of traditional western diplomacy.

THE last few months have witnessed a bewildering succession of events in China,—the rapid advance of the Cantonese armies to the Yangtse river and beyond; the taking of Hankow, Nanking and Shanghai; the ominous rise of anti-foreign feeling; and the steady increase of the power of the Communists within the victorious Kuomintang, or Nationalist People's Party.

The war hysteria which disgraced some of the most reputable American newspapers during the weeks immediately following the looting in Nanking fortunately roused little or no response in the masses of the American people. Already the waves of jingoistic propaganda have receded. The moderation of the identic notes presented by the five powers, Great Britain, France, Japan, Italy and the United States, to the Kuomintang authorities on April 11 is evidently the result of a compromise. The program of those British extremists who urged the conquest of the whole of China, or at least the division of north from south by naval patrols on the Yangtse, found no support in Paris, Tokyo or Washington. But, on the other hand, the suggestion that every effort should be made immediately to replace the "unequal treaties" with a series of new agreements to be negotiated between the United States and representatives of the different Chinese factions was not accepted by our government, presumably on the not wholly convincing ground that it was impractical and violative of a moral commitment to stand with the other powers wherever possible.

The gravest danger now is that China may divide on class lines—Red China, aided and directed by Soviet Russia, against White China, supported by the industrial and banking sections of the Chinese and by the foreign powers. Certainly the split between the left and the right Kuomintang is now wide open. Chang Kai-shek, generalissimo of the Nationalist forces, has refused to accept the diminution of his power decreed by the radical section of the party in Hankow, and has undertaken to eliminate the extremists from places of influence in Shanghai. In such a clash as is here forecast, irrespective of the military outcome, nothing would really be settled. But worse, Chinese unity would be still further postponed and the danger of a World War brought nearer. In the face of issues like these, bewildered and fumbling diplomats continue to talk as though nothing had happened in China since the Boxer revolt.

THE International Economic Conference which convenes in Geneva May 4 will prepare a program for a subsequent plenary conference to be held probably two years hence. The general scope of the agenda is indicated in the resolution of the sixth ordinary session of the Assembly, which, after expressing the conviction that "economic peace will largely contribute to security among the nations," proclaimed "the necessity of investigating the economic difficulties which stand in the way of the revival of general prosperity and of ascertaining the best means of overcoming these difficulties and of preventing disputes."

The United States has evidenced its interest in the Conference by naming a strong official delegation. Each of the five members has special knowledge of some important field which is to be explored. Norman H. Davis, former under-

DISARMAMENT

The French argue:

1. *That security must be guaranteed by some form of military assistance against aggression as a necessary condition precedent to the reduction and limitation of armaments.*

2. *That agreements for the reduction and limitation of armaments must be guaranteed by an international inspection and control of the military establishments, to ascertain whether treaty obligations were being faithfully executed.*

3. *That there exists a complete interdependence of armaments and that it is impossible to deal with any single category (land, sea or air) without simultaneously dealing with others.*

4. *That it is not sufficient to deal with the actual peacetime armaments of nations, but that industrial, financial, economic and other factors must be taken into account in any general scheme that may be drawn up.*

5. *That any agreements on the limitation and reduction of armaments in order to be effective must be universal, and there must be a single standard applicable to all countries of the world.*

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secretary of state, has a wide knowledge of both political and economic problems; J. W. O'Leary, a leading Chicago banker, is president of the United States Chamber of Commerce; Henry M. Robinson was one of the three American members of the Experts' Committee which prepared the Dawes report; Alonzo E. Taylor, of the Food Research Institute at Stanford University, is an authority on the world's food supply; Julius Klein is the director of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce and one of Mr. Hoover's most trusted aides.

The instructions to these delegates will be revealing. How far will they be authorized to go in the proposed discussion of such ticklish questions as the tariff, inter-ally debts, immigration, raw materials, etc.? If they are not given a free hand it is conceivable that the United States may obstruct rather than help in the formulation of a program adequate to meet the world's needs.

THE debate between Secretary Mellon and Columbia and Princeton professors on inter-ally indebtedness is encouraging. Despite the cynic's despair of our democracy, intelligent discussion of public questions has evidently not ceased to attract general interest. Though no change of governmental policy is to be expected in the near future the question is still open. Nor will it be closed until time has tested the economic soundness of the settlement. It was a little surprising that Secretary Mellon finally admitted the inter-relation between inter-ally debts and reparations which economists have all along insisted upon. This condition may rise to plague his successors if they choose to maintain our government's orthodox position that our claims against the Allies must not be made contingent upon their receipt of the Dawes payment from Germany.

A YEAR and a half after Locarno, reconciliation continues to be fashionable in the relations between Germany and her neighbors. This was illustrated at the forty-fourth meeting of the Council of the League of Nations, which adjourned a few weeks ago. For the first time a German, Dr. Stresemann, presided. And to him should be credited much of the success of the meeting. On each of the three questions concerned with the Saar, Polish schools in Upper Silesia, and German-Polish commercial relations, he made material concessions, and in each case in the face of outspoken opposition from his own and other German political parties. Defending his policy he declared that he was acting more as a "League man" than as a German. Significance may justifiably be read into the fact that after the German foreign minister had explained his action on his return to Berlin, his policy was approved.

It would be absurd to conclude that all of the problems between Poland and Germany or between France and Germany have been solved. As between Poland and Germany there can never be an assurance of peace until at least the question of the Polish corridor has been readjusted. France certainly does not think so. The Chamber, in March, by a vote of 500 to 31, passed an extraordinarily comprehensive defense act. This is, in effect, a universal conscription of man-power and wealth in time of war. Moreover, work has been authorized on a series of fortifications for her eastern frontier which it is estimated will cost 7,000,000,000 francs. This elaborate preparedness program does not necessarily mean that France has lost faith in Locarno or the League. It may be rather a manifestation of the French insistence on having three locks on every door.

IN southeastern Europe the recent relations between Italy and Jugoslavia have been ominously reminiscent of the summer of 1914. Last November Italy concluded with Albania a treaty by which the latter's "political, juridical and territorial status quo is guaranteed." Earlier Italy had been given a first lien on Albanian customs and national monopolies as security for a loan of 50,000,000 gold lira to be spent under Italian supervision by an Italian engineering corporation. The treaty permits Italy to intervene at the request of Albania in case of disturbance. It is commonly interpreted as Italy's latest and most effective move to control entrance and exit of the Adriatic.

In Jugoslavia, the extension of Italian influence has caused the liveliest concern. This was intensified by the apparently well-founded belief that Italy was supported by Great Britain. France, allied to Jugoslavia and always anxious about Mussolini's ambitions in the Mediterranean and the Balkans, is watching developments closely. French opinion is inclined cynically to compare Mussolini's attitude toward Albania with that of the United States towards Haiti or Nicaragua. Though no immediate danger of war is anticipated one can discern, growing out of the clash of interests in the Balkans, a disquieting analogy to European pre-war psychosis.

DISARMAMENT

The Americans reply:

1. *That there should be a direct approach to the question of limitation and reduction of armaments without awaiting complicated measures for providing security. . . .*

2. *That in order to be really effective, agreements for the reduction and limitation of armaments must be founded upon respect for treaty obligations and a belief in the good faith of the contracting parties. It is our belief that any agreement founded upon distrust and providing for a machinery of inspection and control will not only fail to achieve its purposes but will create new elements of suspicion and ill-will.*

3. *We feel that insistence upon a joint consideration of land, sea and air armaments will tend to render needlessly complicated the task of a final conference and will tend to render more difficult achievement in regard to the limitation and reduction of any single category of armament. For that reason we feel that ultimate success lies along the line of isolating from the general problem as many concrete questions as possible and dealing with them in a direct and practical manner.*

4. *We feel that the only practical approach to the question of the limitation and reduction of armaments is through dealing with visible armaments at peace strength. . . .*

5. *It is our view that there is no possibility for devising a system for the limitation and reduction of armaments which could be made either applicable or acceptable to all countries of the world. . . .*

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DESPITE the rejection by the Senate of the Treaty of Lausanne, normal relations with Turkey are to be maintained. Credit for this fortunate outcome goes to Rear-Admiral Mark L. Bristol, American high commissioner of Constantinople since 1918. Despite the violent propaganda conducted in this country against the Turks, Admiral Bristol has been able to make the authorities in Angora understand that their interests and those of the United States are so nearly identical that they have consented to re-establish full diplomatic and consular relations for a period of fifteen months. The United States is to have the advantage of the most-favored-nation treatment in custom matters. In bringing to a brilliantly successful conclusion these long and difficult negotiations under trying conditions, he has given a much needed example to the "career" diplomats.

IT is in Russia's relations to her neighbors and more especially to Great Britain that the gravest danger of a European clash lies. The causes for friction are many—with Rumania over Bessarabia, the loss of which neither the Soviet government nor any other subsequent Russian régime is likely to recognize without protest; with Poland, over boundary and other disputes; with the Baltic states, over frontier incidents alternating with treaties of amity.

It is with Britain, however, that Russia has the most numerous and serious occasions for quarrels. London charges a deliberate policy of world-wide Bolshevik propaganda against British interests. Foreign-Minister Chamberlain a few weeks ago drew up a formidable indictment against the Third Internationale and its activities in China, India, Persia, Turkey and elsewhere. He denied that the Soviet government could dissociate itself from the activities of the Communist Party. In conclusion he threatened a severance of diplomatic relations unless Moscow chose to "conform to the conduct of the ordinary rules of international life and comity." In answer to these charges the Russians retort that British statesmen have been as guilty of propaganda against Soviet Russia as have been the Communists against the British Empire.

RUSSIA'S absence from the disarmament discussions now going on in Geneva is but one factor which makes substantial progress unlikely. The months-long session last year of the Preparatory Commission and its subcommissions, did little more than disclose the vastly different points of view of the great powers as to the fundamental principles upon which the limitation of armament should proceed. For example, France and the United States approached the problem from almost irreconcilable premises. Secretary of State Kellogg, in a recent letter to Chairman Porter of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, summed up cogently and fairly the five French principles, against which he set five American principles. These are so admirably put that they deserve careful study as given above. If the differences they show are kept in mind one need not be surprised if the Preparatory Commission which reconvened March 21, after a six months' recess, passes through a series of crises.

The evident difficulties of general agreements at Geneva on the whole problem of disarmament was doubtless one of the factors which induced President Coolidge to make his proposal of last February to the five larger naval powers. It was generally misinterpreted in the press. He did not propose a new international conference. He did not threaten to withdraw from the general discussions of the League Commission. He merely inquired whether Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan were "disposed" to join the United States in empowering "their representatives at the forthcoming meeting of the Preparatory Commission to initiate negotiations looking toward an agreement for limitation in the classes of naval vessels not covered by the Washington Treaty."

The replies from the powers might have been guessed in advance. Britain and Japan's acceptances, though cordial, were hedged about with vague but significant reservations which limit the scope of the inquiry. France's rejection on the ground that acceptance might endanger the work being done by the League was a pious camouflage of her desire not to be pocketed again as she felt she was at the Washington Conference. Italy's rejection, more frank than the French, was put on the ground of national self-interest.

How much will Britain, Japan and the United States be able to accomplish without the cooperation of France and Italy? Certainly so long as Paris and Rome refuse to restrict their submarine building program Britain will have an excellent excuse for refusing to reduce its cruiser program, and unless Britain's tonnage in this class of ships is cut down we may expect a renewed and strengthened agitation for an American building program to approximate if not equal the British strength. It is a vicious circle. Each country sees only its own interests and refuses to trust the good faith of its neighbors.

EXCEPT for the mystery notes and the almost romantic tales of forged documents, no real news of the Mexican-American relations has been divulged to the public for weeks. It has been as though there were no conflict of interests between the two countries. The optimists interpret this as merely a benevolent facade behind which the responsible authorities on both sides of the line working with the oil men are formulating a basis for an agreement on the land and oil questions. The pessimists insist that although rumors of an agreement may fill the air Washington is continuing to exert steady pressure upon Calles to meet the American demands, threatening, if he does not do so, to sever diplomatic relations and possibly lift the embargo on arms. All observers agree that either of these suggested forms of pressure would encourage revolution and endanger Calles' hold on the country. Probably the pessimists are more nearly right than the optimists.

The mystery notes which concerned a series of more than a hundred documents said to have been stolen from the American Embassy in Mexico City, have, because of the secrecy connected with them, assumed perhaps an undue significance. But if the more important of the stolen documents are forged or have forged portions interpolated in them, as Washington suggests, it is difficult to understand why an official explanation has been so long delayed. In any case, if the alleged forgeries were designed, as the State Department intimates, to involve Mexico and the United States in war by giving President Calles the impression that the United States was plotting to aid the Mexican revolutionists, no effort should be spared to discover what individuals or groups could have been interested in such a dastardly plot. The public has the right to expect a frank statement. Perhaps before this is printed they will have had it.

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VIII. SOMETHING FOR NOTHING

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Letters & Life

In which books, plays and people are discussed

Edited by LEON WHIPPLE

Miracle Books

THIS essay may be worth one hundred thousand dollars. It seeks to discover what makes a serious book sell 100,000 copies in these United States. For the last six years some non-fiction book has become *the* book of the year and sold like mad until it topped the hundred-thousand mark. The first miracle book was The Outline of History by H. G. Wells; in 1926 Will Durant's Story of Philosophy won the golden laurel wreath; the best seller of 1927 is now being written by some lucky author, or offered to the publishers—and probably being rejected. How can the publishers pick one? Nobody knows. The firm that has had the best luck testifies: "When you ask about theory, your guess is almost as good as ours." Another writes: "If any one of us could answer your questions, we'd be plutocrats instead of publishers. There is really no infallible way of choosing or selling best-sellers. They make themselves; that, of course, is the fascinating gambling element of publishing." After all, this essay may *not* be worth one hundred thousand dollars.

But let us leave these astrologers to their crystal-gazing. We are interested in the fact that this phenomenon (and that is the precise word) of an annual best-seller in history, biography, or the philosophy of life, topping fiction sales and providing its author with a comfortable dowry for life, means something new and cheerful and puzzling in the mind and spirit of this nation. It was not always thus, because first nobody wrote such books, and second when anyone did he was glorified if the sale reached 10,000 copies. The Principles of Psychology by William James, and his Varieties of Religious Experience, had, I think, the authentic stigmata of best-sellers. But has either reached 100,000 yet? We wonder.

Compare them with The Story of Philosophy, published May 29, 1926, and priced at five dollars. It had sold 100,000 by Christmas, 137,000 to date, and the publishers hope to top 200,000 by next Christmas. On one day, December 6, orders for 5,600 copies were received. It led the non-fiction list by a wide margin month after month. In December in the field of general literature it was first in 81 book-stores with 579 points. John Erskine's Sir Galahad, the fiction leader, was first in 65 stores, with 384 points. This, please remember, for a scholarly book about Aristotle, Kant, Spinoza, and Santayana, some chapters of which had met with mild approval in the Haldeman-Julius little Blue Books at five cents each. Did Europe expect that from our democracy? The usual myths are extant on its birth. The manuscript was certainly offered elsewhere before Simon and Schuster "took a chance." One story declares Dr. Durant got a modest flat price for his script, but was later given a more generous royalty agreement by his publishers; another declares that he accepted a low royalty on the first few thousands of certain sales in exchange for a much richer one on the later and extremely speculative tens of thousands—in which case he must be proud both of his philosophical faith and his business acumen.

Why did the book go? The publishers say:

> We believe the Story of Philosophy "caught on" so because of the deep-rooted perennial hunger for a "revealingly humanizing" approach to "the art of arts" and "the queen of sciences." . . . A book becomes known as the book of the year by the way it is reviewed; by the way it is featured, displayed and praised by book-sellers; by the way it sells; by the way it is treated in publicity, promotion, and advertising; but principally by the way people who read it and like it *talk* about it. Apparently the first people who read The Story of Philosophy (attracted by the initial announcements, advertisements, and reviews) were stimulated, excited, and otherwise moved by the book. Thus began a cumulative cycle of ever-widening interest and personal discussion—the most important factor in the wide sale of a book.

Decorations on this page by Wilfred Jones, from The Rise of American Civilization by Charles A. and Mary B. Beard. Macmillan

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This social chemistry of public opinion is admirably described by another publisher:

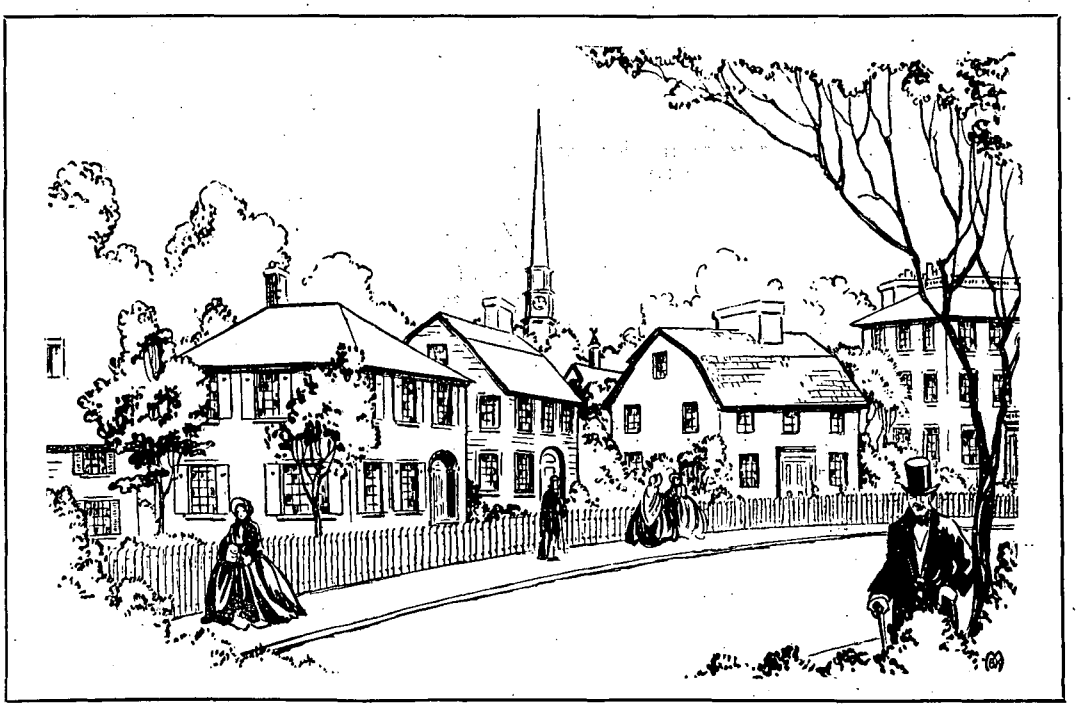
William Allen White comes out for a book and next Glenn Frank is heard from. S. Parkes Cadman works it into his radio speech and Will Rogers gets off a wise-crack. Texas swings into line and then New Hampshire. The parade starts around the hall. The excitement spreads and in a jiffy the whole country has, just as in a political convention, selected its candidate and cast aside the also-rans. That's all I can make of it.

The fact remains this popular approval falls only on certain kinds of books. Consider the list. Macmillan brought out Well's Outline just after the War, and it is said to have broken all records for non-fiction books except the Bible. Its total must be getting toward 400,000 and it is still selling. On June 6, 1921, Harcourt, Brace and Company started Queen Victoria, by Lytton Strachey, with 6,500. The book took hold with almost no advertising, though it had been serialized in the New Republic and by them offered as a premium. The first year it sold 50,000 and to date, 150,000. One publisher's reader declared Victoria was written in too literary a style to be widely popular; another gave this verdict (and the public concurred): "Here is a grand, gossipy book telling about the domestic life of Queen Victoria." In November, 1921, Boni and Liveright issued Hendrik VanLoon's Story of Mankind and its charm and pictures speedily sent it across the 100,000 line. In March, 1923, Harcourt-Brace repeated with Papini's Life of Christ, that has sold over a quarter of a million copies and still sells, particularly at Christmas and Easter. It may be noted here that more religious books are sold in the United States than any other kind except texts.

OF the Letters of Walter H. Page, Doubleday-Page have sold 102,000 copies in twenty-one editions. The House of Harper has scored twice with James Harvey Robinson's The Mind in the Making, and George A. Dorsey's Why We Behave Like Human Beings—the best seller in non-fiction until Philosophy displaced it. There are probably a dozen books of the same kinds not in the first flight. Doubleday-Page offer in evidence the sale since 1923 of 80,000 copies of a volume lots of people have never even heard of, The Conquest of Fear, by Basil King. Of an earlier book, What Literature Can Do for Me, by C. Alphonso Smith, their record is 73,000 copies. Scribner's with Mark Sullivan's Our Times is making a bid for a record. Thomson's Outlines of Science (in four volumes!) has gone to 50,000. Bobbs-Merrill offer as their miracle books, The Man Nobody Knows, by Bruce Barton, and The New Decalogue of Science, by A. E. Wiggam. Harcourt-Brace have carried on with De Kruif's Microbe Hunters and Count Keyserling's Travel Diary of a Philosopher. The Century Company has This Believing World, by Lewis Browne. E. P. Dutton has sold nobody knows how many of the Today and Tomorrow and Everyman's titles.

THAT'S evidence enough. Now for the explanation. They are not read for utility as are those perennial best-sellers, Fanny Farmer's Cook Book, Lulu Hunt Peter's Diet and Health, or Foster's Bridge Manual. They do not replace novels, for fiction sales show the same vast increases. But I think more people are turning to these books for a kind of wisdom and broad view of human nature that they once found in novels. Our fantastic and sentimental novels are useful chiefly for recreation. Consider the sales of detective stories among the intellectual *élite*. These serious books did not succeed on their author's previous fame, for save Wells, they had only parish reputations until they woke up the day after the miracle happened. They were distinguished in special fields, but the populace did not know that. Indeed, success seems surer for the unknown; he starts with a clean slate and you can create a vogue without breaking any traditions, or ruining any pigeon-holing the public may have done.

These men (there are no women) had a head-start only in their sound grasp of their subjects and their experience in reaching the public mind. They all display a certain clarity, vigor, and ironic sincerity. Most of them had been teachers or journalists, not excepting that cosmic soap-boxer, Herbert Wells. Robinson taught history at Columbia, VanLoon likewise at Antioch, Dorsey lectured on science, Will Durant conducted the Labor Temple. Strachey, Burton Hendricks, and Mark Sullivan were trained journalists. All were experts in popularizing; they not only knew their stuff, but how to get it across. The content may be difficult, but the divisions and expository



From the book jacket of The Rebellious Puritan, a portrait of Nathaniel Hawthorne, by Lloyd Morris. Harcourt, Brace and Company

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technique must be easy. John Doe does not want to dig through a book, nor can he talk enthusiastically when he does not understand. Yet he must not be patronized, primer fashion. Here is a nice balance to hit.

THE author must also show superiority and fearlessness to encourage the reader to trust his leadership. There must be some image-breaking, with not too great reverence for tradition or even the human race. That is the post-war mood and most of these books grew out of the War—which accounts for the interest in history and in guide-books to life. We have here always well-bred but piercing humor and the diffused light of irony at man and his past pretensions. The author must be big enough and wise enough to play with his theme. He must also seem to give us the "inside dope" on this matter. Wells and VanLoon gave us for the first time the sense of knowing aeons by their first names, and realizing vast panoramas of events in perspective. In Queen Victoria and Page we got distinctly behind the scenes and saw royalty in a pet or diplomats in slippers. The very titles—Mind in the Making and Why We Behave Like Human Beings—hold promises of secret stuff. The reader hopes for once to surprise himself undressed and discover what makes his own wheels go round. Philosophy had been for most of us a black curtain before a Delphic mystery to know which was the final mark of a scholar. Here is a pass to the show. Nothing could soothe the vanity of the curious human more than the idea he too might become a philosopher and enter the arcanum from which savants had shushed him with patronizing remarks on his intelligence. Curiosity and vanity are prime engines; each of these authors hit upon a theme that puts us in the know with a vast aggrandizement of our self-respect. That is why their colleagues so often humanly resent the removal of the No Trespass signs. The high priest clings to his job of interpreting the omens.

This intellectual curiosity is partly the work of the schools. There are enough college graduates with an itch to know to buy 100,000 books any day. Their undergraduate smattering of science, history, philosophy does not satisfy; and they are eager for more, if it is made interesting to adults. Frederick Melcher, that wise student of books, editor of The Publisher's Weekly, told me:

> A newly awakened curiosity is the cue to this enlarged book demand. It is encouraged by the wider use of books in schools and colleges for general reference and reading, by the expansion of the program of the public libraries with their developing program of adult education, by the increased aggressiveness and book promotion of the publishers and the new and healthy development of the book stores.

That ought to be a facer for critics of our educational system.

One simple factor is that we have wealth to buy books and leisure to read. These books mean money both to publisher and author. The gross return for some is a million dollars. We may give Babe Ruth $70,000 a year for home-runs, and la Lenglen $30,000 for tennis and temperament, but we reward serious authors on the same scale. They get plums of all kinds, lecture dates, orders for articles at top rates, even fame in the newspaper syndicates. The Story of Philosophy is appearing in a picture strip in a New York tabloid newspaper. That is certainly spreading culture. The money may distract the author from future works, for it is not clear that historians and philosophers function best on large incomes. It certainly encourages a cloud of spurious imitations.

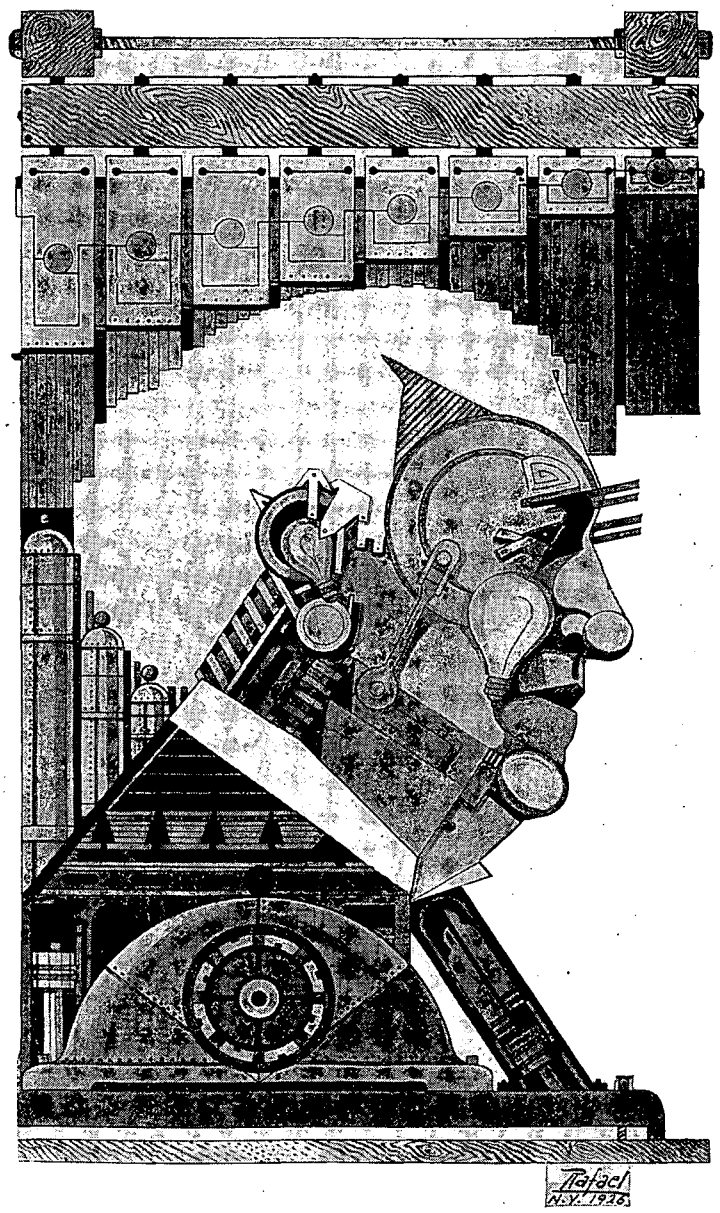
But the real miracle book is not done for money; it is too sincere and deep-rooted in the vision and virtues of the author's soul to be made to order. The belittling of them is only a respectful tribute of envy paid by intellectual indigence to intellectual opulence. They are damned as popular (which they are) by men who still think the chief use of the intellect is to be unpopular. We must recall that people attach more importance to the expensive than to the cheap. Would 137,000 people have bought The Story of Philosophy at a dollar? It is a good thing to set up a scale of values in which we pay as much for our tract on philosophy as for a seat at the Scandals. The people best able to pay probably most need the philosophy. The poor make their own—and will get Durant sooner or later in a cheap edition. On this matter Durant himself wrote:

> We have become wealthy and wealth is the prelude to art. In every country where centuries of physical effort have accumulated the means for luxury and leisure, culture has followed as naturally as vegetation grows in a rich and watered soil. To have become wealthy was the first necessity; a people too must live before it can philosophize. . . . But soon our maturity will come; our minds will catch up with our bodies, our culture with our possessions. When we shall have learned to reverence liberty as well as wealth, we too shall have our Renaissance.

These rewards are not for mere cheap sensationalism. Witness the failure this year of two books on sex, though both were scholarly and high-minded.

The final and I believe deep reason for these books is that we are a generation of seekers. The cataclysm of the World War and the parallel weakening of our religious faiths set us thinking we had better start over and scan all human experience to find out how we got this way and what can be done about things. We want keys to life, whether in history, biography, philosophy, or psychology. We are on a pitiful quest for new faith based on knowledge. What is this queer race? What did men do yesterday? How does my sorry age compare with other ages? What makes me do the fool things I do? Why am I so restless and unhappy? Is there a secret of peace and wisdom? These books are the sign of a spiritual hunger. Yet strangely none of them feeds the soul. They are contemplative, in them you learn of the race or yourself, get

(*Continued on page* 168)



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LEON WHIPPLE

"Red" Lewis in a Red Rage

THE recording angel wrote when he got around to it: "Up early and read Elmer Gantry by Sinclair (Red) Lewis of the U.S.A. First printing, 140,000. Pretty dull, but I got through by skipping. I am not as conscientious as I once was, but attacks on religion are not new to me. I recall that very amusing one in the Fifteenth—or was it the Eleventh?—Century and one later by Upton Sinclair—or was it Sinclair Upton? Anyhow, they are down in the books. Well, this man has publicity and prestige and it's a good thing for the people to be reminded that the church is a human institution with faults that need mending. Venal and carnal pastors do exploit the hungers of their flocks. Thousands of cases in my books. But I don't recall even one like this Gantry, who never in his life slipped from the paths of vice. Gantry is synthetic, I fear. Lewis needs reminding of the literary values of contrast. Let's see . . . Category: useful caricature of lusty commercial-orator type (3X-806) making money, earning feminine adulation, releasing Ego by pseudo-evangelism. Grade: less true and human than Main Street and Babbitt, less moving as the story of a life than Arrowsmith. Effects: on the church good; on Lewis, bad. Prognosis: he needs chastening and charity if he is to remain an artist. Verdict: guilty—of anger at the human race. Sentence: one 500-page novel on Sinclair Lewis, fanatic. Memo: have some one find out why he hates his fellow-men so. Next! Missionary Killed in China. . . ."

I agree. It's a good book and a bad book and one hates to join the merely sensational pother, with Mencken and W. E. Woodward braying on one side of the fence that Lewis is comparable to Rabelais and Voltaire and Dr. John Roach Straton braying back that Lewis is comparable only to the devil. There's no more point to that than to any other medieval disputation over sin. I think you ought to read the book because on the string of an impossible and detestable climber in religion Lewis has, with his amazing skill and verity of reporting, done study after study of hypocrisy, cowardice, and intrigue in preachers, and emotionalism, bigotry, and institutional futility in the churches. He has not attacked religion in any real sense because I think he knows little about religion. He never faces the problem of the congregation and what deep need drives people to find help even in the platitudes of empty and windy men. He has no sense of the historic meaning of the church. He is one-sided and bitter to a degree that often ruins his own satire and so provides his antagonists with ample material for their counter-attack. But unlike Lewis we are not perfectionists, and believe that whatever the faults of Elmer Gantry, both as novel and tract, it will do good by arousing discussion and letting in the light.

It is too bad that here more than in any other of his books Lewis has sacrificed good novel-writing to propaganda. The book lacks design and follows the Dreiser formula, an episode of money-making, an amour, a chapter on ambition, a chapter on lust. Nor is there any sensuous beauty or lyricism in the sex adventures. They are biological. The character-drawing is as always, honest, various, and impeccable in detail, save of Gantry who is composed of too many people. The event plot (as against the character plot) bobs up in strange places as melodrama—the burning of the revivalist Tabernacle beside the sea, the blinding of a pitiful idealist by a mob, the brilliant and clear-cut tale of the blackmailing of Gantry. Here is crisp, sure-footed narrative, the equipment of a true story-teller, but devoted to minor and not inevitable events. The book does not stick together, and despite the verisimilitude remains finally artificial. (*Continued on page* 170)

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There remains the problem of Lewis himself and his ferocious hatred of the human race. After all Babbitt and Arrowsmith and Gantry have the sins of most of the rest of us. It's an imperfect world, demanding charity even of its scourges. Has Lewis no human weakness? Does he never ask the stars: Am I, Sinclair Lewis, perfect and pure of heart enough to undertake this castigation? Probably no genius asks questions; he fulfills his urge, like a blind force. Here is simply "Red" Lewis in a red rage. And that rage is against materialism because in that mid-West generation to which he belongs is ever the conflict between the individual idealist hungry for culture and spiritual hopes, and his own guilty, inescapable instinct to judge by success and quantity. Lewis hates the standards of his time and place, but cannot free himself. Even his honest and mystical preachers are presented as boobs because they let the self-seeking realists put it over them. The rewards of failure do not appeal to him. He compensates by a sort of vulgar snobbishness against routine and work. He sneers at all butter-and-egg men, all the unbeautiful hum-drum and commonplace of life, without ever apparently admitting that butter and eggs are necessary commodities. "The obviously respectable candidate for mayor was a Christian business-man, a Presbyterian, who was a manufacturer of rubber over-shoes." Now there is nothing criminal in making over-shoes, which I presume Mr. Lewis employs upon occasion. Again: "Clyde had a fat wife and four children. Mr. Tippey had pale blue eyes and he wore a 14½ collar encircling a thirteen neck." Well, Mr. Lewis has red hair and often looks like an angry sophomore—and writes like one at times. This mislaid Grecian with the eyes of a police reporter must lead a hard life. But we pray it may not warp him out of being a great novelist.

LEON WHIPPLE

ELMER GANTRY, *by Sinclair Lewis. Harcourt, Brace. 432 pp. Price $2.50 postpaid of The Survey.*

Should Parents Have Children?

THE Allinghams is the story of the adolescence of a family of six children, set against the loving tyranny and rationalized repression of parents who began raising children in the nineties. There is a temptation to smile contemptuously upon parental devices which the veriest amateur in child guidance now would abhor. "How preposterous!" one is tempted to exclaim when the selfishly affectionate father and mother refuse to let Mollie go to the city to cultivate a real talent for music, simply because they want her around and so delude themselves into thinking she is too young (at nineteen) to be trusted away from home. "How blind" when finding that Robin tipples when he is bored at home, they decide that his punishment must be separation from the studies which really interest him at college. With some disapproval, though less certainly, the modern parent would regard Mr. Allingham's reluctance to let Wilfred go into the Army, for after all he probably would not have done as well there as in farming, as his father wished.

These objective and obvious mistakes, however, are not the most devastating. Miss Sinclair has showed repeatedly an interest in tracing the disasters which arise from a too-highly emotionalized relation between parent and child, robbing the child of his independence and making it impossible for him to grow out of spiritual infancy into a life of his own. This is a problem about which even the modern cannot be glib, for it does not lend itself to self-diagnosis; it is always our friends' children, not our own, who are thus pauperized. But in Margie, the eldest of the Allinghams, this process is traced as tragically as in the earlier stories of Mary Olivier or Harriet Frean. Robin, the youngest boy, escapes by a hair's breadth a similar shipwreck for which he seems headed by his Aunt Martha's adoration.

The Allinghams is, of course, a novel and not a treatise on parental practice. It is written in the concise yet lucid manner of Miss Sinclair at her best. And because it does treat with interest and artistry some of the matters which we now are beginning to consider with some claim to science, it will illumine even for professional students in the field some of the aspects of child development in which the author has proved her prescience.

MARY ROSS

THE ALLINGHAMS, *by May Sinclair. Macmillan. 368 pp. Price $2.50 postpaid of The Survey.*

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Apostrophizing the City of Ur

JOHN BREEN, an Irish orphan, hard-fisted and sixteen, is dumped by the fates on the East Side of New York. The author leads him on to politics and pugilism on the Bowery; then stings him with a passion for learning that starts him to Columbia. Half-way of the book he emerges with a degree in civil engineering ready for his life and love role in the city. His life is work; dreaming, planning and building the city. Now and then he stands aside to view the Manhattan skyline and marvel. His love is just another story of love unrequited beaten by a suave and worldly rival. But in the end he triumphs only to desert his wealthy fiancee at the eleventh hour to follow some scheme for salvaging the slums. The city had become his mistress.

There is a plot into which the story is unnaturally squeezed. Incidental to the plot there are a number of literary tricks that add nothing but length to the book. For instance, we are reminded that Breen is a child of guilty joy and we are confidentially introduced to the *sub rosa* father, the scion of a wealthy family. Breen has been converted into a glorified Horatio Alger hero meeting all obstacles with dogged toil or his fists; crushing or ignoring all who oppose him. We see Breen in action; but only once, and that on the Bowery, do we get near to him. But we can forgive the author his plot and his hero. The big thing is New York. He stands aghast before its immensity asking, "What in hell is this thing, the city?"

Poets have never been able to grasp you. Plunderers cannot ravage you; you absorb them and their plunder. Murderers kill and escape, losing everything, including their publicity. Bishops scold you and stay. Cardinals condemn you and solicit funds. Rabbis and cantors love you. Visitors patronize your towers. Radicals are not one-tenth as radical as you. Conservatives are wild philanderers compared with the solidity of your foundations. Up, up, up, you shoot; your views alone are forming a philosophy.

On almost every page when the writer turns aside from the story there are lines or paragraphs of beauty, gems that reveal to us that here is a man who has caught a vision. The sad thing is that he did not take another year to cull and boil down before going to press. His description of the Bowery in its palmy days is masterfully done. Now and then as he contemplates the city he becomes frustrated by its immensity, plunging into the slough of adjectives. To him the city is a center of life and change, of "international combustion," of increasing stimuli, a center of conformities and chaos, intoxicating the most fertile imagination, defying description. His attempt to encompass it all in a single volume is daring but well worth the reading.

NELS ANDERSON

EAST SIDE WEST SIDE, *by Felix Riesenberg. Harcourt, Brace. 415 pp. Price $2.50 postpaid of The Survey.*

Floyd Dell Studies a Pink

MR. WINDLE was like many another middle-class American—he had worked, married, had had a child, grandchildren, and had lived through almost three years of the European war without actually experiencing any of these events. He had predispositions but no opinions, and as the war came closer to the United States, he developed none, therein varying from his species.

Retired, and with time on his hands, he began to make a club of the Plaza in his home city on the western coast, where every evening speakers held forth on all subjects. He heard them impartially, for "he had the habit of listening to talk about new ideas and it made little difference what they were." But the town's attitude towards free speech and plenty of it began to suffer a sea change, via submarines; and the night came when Mr. Windle found himself in jail with a lot of his Plaza companions about whose doctrines he knew nothing.

That adventure was the beginning of his acceptance by the people in the radical groups as one of themselves. They soon learned that he was only a harmless old man, with no conversation, no ideas, but friendly, open ears. He began attending their meetings regularly. Then April, 1917, arrived. Radicals and pacifists now met with half an eye on the seismo-

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graph; offices were raided and "enemies of the government" lurked under beds. College girls became Hun spies in the headlines. Uninfluential men were sent to Leavenworth. In place of fatality among non-combatants there was fatuousness. More heads were lost by America in the war than lives.

Mr. Windle attended the war, as he had attended his wedding and the birth of his daughter, an innocent bystander. He had life in a dream world with a dramatic personae of two,—a cousin, Christopher, who had been killed in the Civil War, and a mill-girl, Ada, whom he had known for an afternoon in his twenties. He projected this world into actuality by identifying Christopher and Ada with two young people among his new friends and died content when, war-troubles over, they began to perpetuate his dream in their life together.

Behind this charming story of a simple old man straight out of an early Wells' novel, Floyd Dell has played correspondent for the home-line trench of America in 1917-18. It is the first piece of fiction to chronicle those disturbed times which have left a knife in the vitals of all movements that combat the conservative drift.

True, it photographs only a fringe of the American radical movement, its types and its work. For these people, causes put color and adventure into life; they are external trimmings added when times are propitious and dropped in stagnant days. So the doldrums after the War has left tired radicals, tired liberals, tired socially-minded of many kinds, all marking time as if they are truly, in Gertrude Stein's words, "a lost generation." No wonder those who work unfalteringly for a better social order scoff at this occasional comrade. The worker is radical because his cause and "the business of living" are one—should he tire, he becomes a scab; the true social reformer starts all over again on his program when the work of twenty-five years has been wiped out—did he become tired, he could be accused of selling out. These radicals who tire and retire are playboys in a grown man's world.

The Floyd Dell of the old Masses has been writing stories and novels for a living. They are graceful stories, often intelligent stories, but the ever-so-gay and strong young heroines are not very different from those perfect, brave girls of Chambers. Floyd Dell can write; his prose is smooth and lively. In this book he has left out most of his recurring "pagan" episodes, and almost all of Greenwich Village. There are a dozen fine episodes that could stand alone.

Once I heard Floyd Dell state his ideas on a platform only to be followed by a speaker who refuted them as "delightful piffle." They were substantial ideas and he meant them, but he expressed them trivially. So does this novel take an important background and concentrate trivially on unimportant persons and their actions. It would be a pity to conclude that this is the only novel of those recent days that our radical movement can produce.

FLORENCE LOEB KELLOGG

AN OLD MAN'S FOLLY, *by Floyd Dell. George H. Doran. 363 pp. Price* $2.00 *postpaid of The Survey.*

Negroes and Earth

NO novel has come out of the South more racy and redolent of its peculiar soil than Black April. For description, atmosphere and local color it must rank among one of the achievements of the new fiction of the South—a fiction which gives the realistic lie to the romantic, sentimental plantation tradition and which oddly enough is primarily the work of three preeminent southern women writers, Ellen Glasgow, Evelyn Scott, and Julia Peterkin. As a story it is less epic than Green Thursday despite its larger canvas and crowded detail, but Blue Brook and its earthy plantation Negroes is as carefully studied a protrayal of peasant life as American literature has yet produced.

Mrs. Peterkin's hero is this time not a pious, humble critter like Kildee, but a domineering, masterful son of the jungle, Black April—lord of everything human on the plantation almost as a tribal chieftain might be. Only superstition rules his life as tyrannously as it rules the rest, and the real drama is the constant bog-like hold of its dark forces upon those who might otherwise be strong sons of the soil. But the man who can hold a rattlesnake at arms length will quaver at "bein' cun-

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jured" and turn back for the fear of a "hant" or an old woman's saying. Perhaps the atavistic hold of superstition is a bit overdrawn, but undoubtedly here is the real protagonist of the story, the force upon which the whole life of the community ebbs and flows. One grants it as dramatic license to the whole story; even though it eventually exceeds the bounds of anything typical. The Negro peasantry, however, has been too caricatured by false generalizations to suffer seriously from the over-particularizing of a quite studied and sympathetic portrayal such as Mrs. Peterkin's. Honest fiction is the first prerequisite; perspective must and will come later.

ALAIN LOCKE

BLACK APRIL, *by Julia Peterkin, Bobbs-Merrill. 316 pp. Price $2.50 postpaid of The Survey.*

Asking Too Much of Wells

MR. WELLS is notorious for having avoided, as a novelist, the actual problem of the novel, and, as a sociologist, the actual problem of society. Therefore comes the difficulty Mr. Doughty finds in establishing a specific educationism from Mr. Wells' pontifical reiteration of generalities or from his unpointed details. The numerous quotations from Mr. Wells' works simply characterize Mr. Doughty as a zealous extractor, placing him in a category with the very Ph.D.s he and Mr. Wells condemn.

Neither in his novels nor in those books dealing less fictionally with social problems, has Mr. Wells—judging further from the immediate evidence of Mr. Doughty's extractions—given us anything to aid us in the determination of a suitable *modus operandi* in education. We are all more or less agreed upon the general necessity for a new approach and a new method. We have in a great many instances, without the help of Mr. Wells, made that approach. But the specific details of subsequent procedure are tantalizing in their elusiveness and variety. What has Mr. Wells done to assist in the capture and selection?

In a book, Social Forces in England and America (1904), which has surprisingly escaped Mr. Doughty's grasping inspection, Mr. Wells included a brief essay on The Schoolman and the Empire, in which he stated, in reprimanding Kappa, author of If You but Knew, that it (the educational necessity) was not so much a matter of curriculum as of personnel, or the general scholastic atmosphere. "So long as we require schoolmasters to be politic," he asserted, "there is no sense in talking about anything else." It was not a startling or fresh thesis even then, and it is, of course, a concern still. But seventeen years later, Mr. Wells was offering a curriculum change as the hope for education. In 1903 Wells had believed in a very simple curriculum; in 1921, he was for Latin and Greek, etc., etc. Mr. Doughty has gone to considerable trouble to outline the two "systems" of Mr. Wells, but I am puzzled by No. 7 of the "system" of 1903: "Drawing and Painting, not as 'art' but as appreciation of form and color and of the means of expression." What is "art", if not such appreciation? But in the "not" and in the contradiction is Mr. Wells' fear of the *actual*; he is afraid of "art," although it is evident to any intelligent educator that it must be, in its essential purity, a determining and synthetizing factor in education.

Mr. Wells, it seems to me, for all his quasi-science and for all his, as he calls it himself, "fanaticism" over history, has not achieved a substantial practical intellection relevant to our time. His idealism is nostalgic, negative and one of escape. What is his philosophy of education? Doughty, despite chapters upon the biology et cetera of Wells, has not been able to consolidate a set of fundamental and inclusive principles. There is no statement as to Mr. Wells' attitude towards handwork as part of the curriculum. What is his attitude towards instruction in itself? He has condemned the old schools, but what does he think of the new, Bedales, the Dalton plan schools, the nursery schools, the Dominie's school and others? But, principally, how will he relate his educational creed to the contemporary world? To avoid the implications of an industrial-commercial society is not to avoid its control. Sententiousness and elementary Greek are not preparations for a school program that will ensure our absorption of a condition that is now in control of us. The fact that teachers play

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important roles in Mr. Wells' novels may be an intriguing detail, but it does not make of Mr. Wells a potent influence on educational thought or direction.

H. A. POTAMKIN

H. G. WELLS, EDUCATIONIST, *by F. H. Doughty. Geo. H. Doran. 188 pp. Price $2.00 postpaid of The Survey.*

These Be Americans

ELIZABETH SERGEANT looks at her America and finds it good. "A disaffected New Englander" she calls herself, but her roots strike deeper than that stubborn soil into the crevices of the rocks that underly it. She is of the long American tradition, and for her the gardens of Cambridge, the march of the pioneers, the Kansas cornfields are as understandable and as interesting as the crowded immigrant life of the East River streets where she has her home.

Miss Sergeant, one feels, did not bring together her "group of American portraits" with the showman's flourish—"Ladies and gentlemen, these prize specimens of our native culture . . ." One is sure that her own urgent quest for beauty led her to make this book of beautiful human lives. She views these distinguished fellow-Americans in relation to the American scene because of her own intense faith in what is going forward in America. The fourteen men and women she pictures, such diverse personalities as Willa Cather, Amy Lowell, Charles Townsend Copeland, Robert Frost, H. L. Mencken, Eugene O'Neill, become on her canvas more than individuals. Each one, in his or her own terms, is at once an appealing human being and a significant participant in a large, inclusive adventure.

Paul Robeson, for instance, when we look at the rich, clear colors of Miss Sergeant's portrait, is more than a musician, an actor, a figure beautiful as "a Roman bronze of a great period." He is all that he is in himself, and he is also the laughing, sorrowing, full-flavored heritage that has come to this country through "memories of savage freedom," through the sublimation of "the least acceptable of American destinies."

Miss Sergeant discovers for us the sound, fearless Elizabethan facing of life that has survived through prairie pioneering to become again articulate in William Allen White and his Emporia Gazette. She shows us the peculiar American administrative genius united to the long, undismayed patience of a scientist which make possible the work of William Alanson White at St. Elizabeth's. Her portrait of Alice Hamilton, first woman member of the faculty of the Harvard Medical School, international authority on industrial disease, conveys the gentlewoman's gracious acceptance of responsibility toward the less fortunate, the selfless missionary passion of another generation blended and transmuted into a toiling, unwearied crusade against unnecessary sickness, pain and death among modern industrial workers. Perhaps most stirring of all to those of us, at least, who have behind us the old New England tradition, is Miss Sergeant's widely reproduced canvas of Justice Holmes, who rides before her "in the field of ideas . . . as a light horseman, a fabulous skirmisher, a cavalier for all his 'cold Puritan passion,' who carries a pennon as well as a lance, and with it 'that little flutter which means ideals'."

Miss Sergeant writes, in her introduction, that "they are all fighters, Americans in conflict with something." But her book is testimony to her belief that the conflict technique, the "fighting spirit" are of no importance in themselves. She finds the value of these rich lives to themselves and to that larger common life of which they are a part, in an unusual capacity for sustained creative work, and in the successful adjustment to reality which makes such work possible.

BEULAH AMIDON

FIRE UNDER THE ANDES, *by Elizabeth Shepley Sergeant. Alfred A. Knopf. 331 pp. Price $4.00 postpaid of The Survey.*

Cornelia Parker, Pilgrim

HERE is a chronicle of travel told with humor and charm. The adventures of this family of blithe crusaders in their journey across the universe will interest readers for whom books must hold the personal note. In the calendar of these further years abroad are set passages that record not only enthusiasm and appreciation but also discernment for values found beneath the surface of continental life. Cornelia Parker

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has the double gift of presenting with a light touch the external side of people and places and at the same time revealing with quick flash of insight those sudden intimate phases, often ramatic and poignant, when felt by a temperament at once sensitive and sympathetic.

The comments and details found in the chapters on schools as the result of her search for the liberal type of education to meet the needs of her three children deserve attention. For those readers who have a like situation to face and are at a oss to know how or where to begin with schools abroad this experience should serve as a labor-saving device.

The Parker scenario gives us vivid pictures of the League Assembly and again there is Geneva as the background for the Fifth Labor Conference which the author wrote up for The Survey. The scene shifts to Vienna and we are told in simple terms of visits to the various clinics and societies in that centre of psychology, with sketches of the leaders n psychiatry. Budapest and the social work carried on amid conditions of post-war desolation reveals the misery left there—and the inadequate relief. All this in contrast to the usual traditions of colour and gypsy music! We look forward to the Parkers' next pilgrimage to other ports, to that same zest for life.

HALLE SCHAFFNER

MORE PORTS, MORE HAPPY PLACES, *by Cornelia Stratton Parker. Boni & Liveright. 288 pp. Price $3.50 postpaid of The Survey.*

The Generations in South Africa

SOMETHING in the vibrant air of South Africa seems to make for simplicity, clarity and depth. A comparison of Mrs. Millin with Olive Schreiner is inevitable. Both writers, out of a warm interest in the contemporary life around them, have come to lay bare to us eternal tragedies of human conflict. Both have given to the literature of our time something of the majesty of contour that we associate with the classics. And this is achieved not by a structure of academic grandeur nor by paucity of detail but by sincerity of interest and understanding for the larger values.

There is no padding; rather, one gets the impression that Mrs. Millin, in despair before the problem of a logical arrangement, just threw together her notes and drafts of chapters and, with transparent artistry, joined them together into something resembling a pattern.

Her two novels, God's Stepchildren and Mary Glenn, have paved the way for the author's recognition. They are realistic poetry or poetic realism—as you prefer. The South Africans is historical, descriptive, argumentative and expository. But it is not a history or a travel book or a political essay or a monograph on race relations. Imagine a talented and charming visitor from a far-off country sitting at your fireside trying to tell you and your friends just what you want to know about that country—a vivacious medley of information if one were to take stenographic notes (which would, of course, spoil the speaker's spontaneity), that gradually builds up in the hearers' minds a convincing, realistic and at the same time poetry-suffused picture of that foreign land, a picture that stays and colors all your thinking when more learned tomes have long been forgotten. That visitor is Mrs. Millin.

In two or three paragraphs she conjures up a picture of Pretoria, of Johannesburg, of a mining camp on the Witwatersrand—sharp as an etching of Muirhead Bone and with the same quality of persuasiveness. Each social group stands out in a way that appeals to a fellow-feeling within you and makes you hope it will eventually find justice, and perhaps a little charity as well, in this jumble of human interests and aspirations. You understand, as you did not understand before, how each of these groups came into being and acquired its present ways and attitudes, and you are driven relentlessly to recognize a fate that entangles them all in a single, hopeless struggle for self-preservation and self-enhancement.

There is madness in the bitterness with which one generation tries to undo what a previous generation wrought—in the matter of Asiatic immigration, for example. There is splendor in the courage with which a small remnant of a people fights on for its cultural heritage—whether native or brought from distant lands. There is humiliation for you in the conditions

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under which wealth is produced today, not for South Africans only, but also for you. (Blood seems to flow from the engagement ring you so proudly bought; and the gold reserve in our American banks seems made of the crushed bones of slaves.)

You recognize the greatness of a Rhodes—and his wickedness; the humanity of a Gandhi and his singleness of heart. You watch the growth of yet another new nationalism and the threatening rise of native race-consciousness. And everywhere you see individuals like yourself with desires that transgress the boundaries of race and nationality:

> People speak of the Native problem as if it were one problem, just as they speak of the Asiatic menace as if it were one menace. Natives are not merely natives. They are peoples, nations, groups, tribes, communities, kraals, locations, classes, sets, individuals. One might as well try to apply the formula to a Turk and an Englishman, to a grandee and peasant, as to a naked Swazi, whose queen is the hereditary rain-maker, and a Christian Basuto living in his location at Bloemfontein, wearing European clothing, holding a life-insurance policy, sending his children to school, allowing them to learn the piano, playing tennis, singing hymns, and despising his neighbor whose house has a flat, instead of a pitched, roof of corrugated iron.

Mrs. Millin's biology is not altogether up-to-date, her economics in a few places is shady, and her psychology here and there assumes the existence of too many "instincts." But she has the objectivity of the scientific observer and that emotional quality which, never degenerating into sentimentality, ever and again carries the reader's sympathy into the depth of a situation of conflict. She advocates no simple way out of the tangle of South African race relations; yet such books as this unwittingly lead us to consider a solution that has been seen by the wise teachers of many ages but has never yet been tried.

BRUNO LASKER

The Inquiry

THE SOUTH AFRICANS, *by Sarah Gertrude Millin. Boni & Liveright 287 pp. Price $3.50 postpaid of The Survey.*

Italy Interpreted

THE greatest book of Fascism thus far is unmistakably Don Sturzo's Italy and Fascismo. Its author, the former head of the Partito Popolare and a priest, was forced to leave his native country because his party furnished the only persistent opposition to Mussolini and the dictatorship throughout those fateful months following the March on Rome. It was Christian in its ethics but not connected with the Catholic Church. Its principles were pacific, liberal and mildly socialistic. Sturzo, the Popular Party and the Aventine all failed in their efforts to curb the power of the Fascists, but when the perspective history of this era is written all three will stand as markers of liberty.

Sturzo's volume deals illuminatingly with the Risorgimento. The Risorgimento was, indeed, a revolutionary movement and made possible the unification of Italy, but there was, he believes, nothing sufficient in the Risorgimento itself to assure such unity. There was no middle class and consequently the governing class possessed no subsoil from which to renew its fertility. The Risorgimento left Italy with a fundamental dualism in its social and psychic life which was made manifest in 1914. Italian leaders had not foreseen the war or their choices. Italy was under obligations to both Entente and Alliance. Should she answer to opportunism or to past sanctions? The people of Italy, the workers and peasants, wanted to avoid war at any cost; and the socialists and communists of the left were equally determined to remain outside this quarrel between groups of capitalists, as they saw it. Italy entered the war and performed services of surprising quality. Would the war and the ensuing peace bring a unifying principle to Italy? Sadly this hope had to be abandoned, for the peace was in some respects worse than the war. Sturzo says: "The whole economic policy of the peace was based on a colossal error." To Italians it came to assume the proportions, not merely of error, but of disillusionment and in the end of bitterness.

The Italian crisis followed close upon the so-called Peace. Those who wish to find vindication for the Fascists interpret this crisis in terms of an immanent bolshevization of Italy. Sturzo does not believe that Fascism can honestly be supported

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To the Devil—No Quarter!

REVERT, for a moment, to 1864. Picture a rawboned recruit to the Union Army—a lad still in his 'teens, who has enlisted to fill the gap left by his brother's death.

Imagine his companions-in-arms—men of all ages, war-stained, gaunt, and tough, ill-fed, thirst-tortured, despondent, keeping alive the flame of hope only by the draft of their prodigious curses.

Think of this stripling, fired with religious zeal and a consuming will to save souls from perdition. Follow him, of an evening, from campfire to campfire. Hear him threatening, exhorting, praying, pledging—pledging these hard-boiled, soul-blistered battlers to attend religious services on Sunday, to forswear the chewing of tobacco, to blaspheme no more.

Envision, if you can, a youth so possessed, so sure of his almighty rightness, that he could persist in such efforts in such a company—and even, to some extent, succeed.

THUS was Anthony Comstock in his flaming youth, and thus he continued to his grave—exorcising the devil with hard words and horny fists, and receiving in return blasts that scarred him in heart and body. Had he been a hypocrite, his story would not be worth the telling. But he was genuine, honest, undeniably courageous. He thought of himself as God's soldier in a vice-ridden world. And since soldiers are made to fight, he fought, taking his orders straight from God, and praying each night for more and bigger orders.

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There will be two sessions each morning and one each evening. The conference leaders, together with members of the conference who wish to share in building the program will, at the close of each session, plan for the next in the light of the preceding discussions. From six to ten persons with special knowledge or experience relating to the theme of each week will be present to contribute democratically, as called upon, to the discussion.

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on the ground that it saved Italy from Communism. Indeed the presumed communist crisis was over before the march on Rom . The political crisis, as Sturzo now interprets it, was precipitated by the decay of the ruling class, the "bankruptcy of socialist ideology," economic depression induced by the fallacious peace, by the discontent of the ex-soldiers, and by the cumulative oligarchic tendencies within the governmental scheme. When the old structure fell of its own weakness Fascists proclaimed that Liberalism was dead. "In truth," says Sturzo, "it was the old oligarchy that was passing, not Liberalism."

Mussolini has acted as if the march on Rome constituted a revolution. But there was no revolution; Mussolini was appointed premier by law. He created the revolution by gradually delimiting the powers of parliament, by increasing his government by decrees, and by arming a political party which henceforth made itself supreme by force. In Russia a real revolution occurred, but not in Italy, and Mussolini's interpretation of his march on Rome and the castor oil technique as a revolution is mere rationalization after the fact.

The second part begins with the March on Rome and carries through to the elections of 1924 and the Aventine reaction. The comparison of Russia with Italy is brilliant interpretation. The third part aims to portray modern Italy in the light of contemporary European trends and the status of Anglo-Saxon peoples; and the final section is a measured but inspiring promise for Italy's future as a pacific, cultured, industrious, and religious nation. Those who intend to be informed about their world should read this book; and even those not primarily preoccupied with Italy and Fascism will find a profitable amount of general European interpretation. Don Sturzo is not merely a priest and the deposed leader of a moribund political party; he is philosopher, historian, politician and above all a warm, human personality who is vividly courageous and uncommonly fair-minded.

E. C. LINDEMAN

ITALY AND FASCISMO, *by Luigi Sturzo. Translated by Barbara Barclay Carter, with a preface by Gilbert Murray. Harcourt, Brace and Company.* 305 *pp. Price* $3.75 *postpaid of The Survey.*

Whites Can Lay Down a Burden

FOR some time it has been evident that the "manifest destiny" of the white race has been losing its manifestness, and all of Asia is the protagonist of the denial. It is customary to blame Soviet Russia for most of the revolution in the world, and in this book Russia is shown as playing some part in inspiring the confidence and technic of the colored races, but to credit Russia with the cause is to deny that political, economic, and cultural forces have their own consequences. The revolt would have occurred just the same without Russia, but it then could have been formulated as definitely anti-white. Now, with Russia in sympathetic cooperation, it can only be logically anti-imperialistic, albeit the white race will have to pay the fiddler for its disdain of color.

The data of the book covers the area from Tokyo to Cairo and Siam to Turkey. It tells us just what needs to be known at the present moment about human attitudes, organizations, and relationships in a style that is journalistic in ease of reading and scientific in content.

I think we are bound to agree that "the historian of a century hence will be no more concerned as to which of the European nations was the technical victor of that contest [the World War] than is the present historian as to which of the city states of Greece won in the Peloponnesian War, but he will be tremendously concerned with the fact that by throwing Russia back into Asia, it completely changed the balance of power of the races and the continents, and ushered in the 'end of the white man's world'."

In the recent book by Dr. T. C. Wang on The Youth Movement in China, in the New Republic series, we have the story of the beginnings of what now makes the success of the Nationalist movement in China a foregone conclusion. When it has succeeded it will have an encouraging influence on India, which is only a few laps behind anyway.

Distant as they are from one another in both geography and culture, Japan and Turkey are making common cause against both coercion and disdain. What the dominant and orderly

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seem universally unable to understand is the equally universal fact that "we would rather be governed like hell and do it ourselves than like heaven and have it done for us."

The prospect before us is not so dark as it would be if the inferiority of the peoples of Asia were as real as has been taught to the white race. The culture qualities which they possess in distinctiveness and high degree will now be given to the rest of the world, and the West need not worry if it finds the common denominator, which may not be too difficult, but it will be something different from that which has hitherto been emphasized. The political and economic trappings of Christianity will have to yield to the genuinely spiritual which will enrich rather than conflict with universal spiritual values.

The social process takes place not as we like it always, but in accordance with its own laws. This book shows some of the laws working.

HERBERT ADOLPHUS MILLER

THE REVOLT OF ASIA. The End of White Man's World Dominance, *by Upton Close. Putnam. 323 pp. Price $2.50 postpaid of The Survey.*

Massachusetts at the Bar

NOT often does an American murder trial occasion attacks on American legations in Europe and South America, nor enlist the interest of publicists and lawyers throughout the world. The Sacco-Vanzetti case not only did that, but achieved a situation in which Massachusetts justice, personified by Judge Webster Thayer, has been placed on trial along with the two Italians accused of robbery and murder at Braintree in 1920. Technical justice for the Braintree murder has long since been overshadowed by the weightier issue of whether or not a biased judge, an hysterical public opinion, and a not over-scrupulous prosecution endeavored to do to death on an ostensible charge of homicide, men really guilty of radical opinions.

Professor Felix Frankfurter of the Harvard Law School, a former prosecutor for the United States government and a skilled student of criminal jurisprudence, has filed a brief for the defense of Sacco and Vanzetti or, if you choose, for the prosecution against the administration of Massachusetts justice in the Sacco-Vanzetti case, in the shape of this little book, which deserves wide reading and careful study. With rare skill he avoids intruding his own personality, letting the records, the remarks of the judge, the subsequent confession of the man who claimed to be really guilty of the Braintree murder, speak for themselves, resting his own argument on that highest form of legal skill—logical arrangement and selection. *Mutatis mutandis,* the book serves the same function as the famous article, "I Accuse," by which Emile Zola, risking life and reputation, brought the Dreyfuss case to the attention of France and of the world.

Zola played a last but a trump card. Where legal machinery is too weak, or too clumsy, or too corrupt, or too prejudiced, or too subservient, to reach the real issue, there is place for an appeal to civilized opinion. Professor Frankfurter and his friends—likewise taking a very real risk, as anyone familiar with Massachusetts can testify—have attempted the same appeal. Until answered, his book presents a powerful argument for the theory that the hysteria of 1920 was reflected in an attempt, conscious or unconscious, to induce judicial murder in the case of the two Italian radicals.

A. A. BERLE, JR.

THE CASE OF SACCO AND VANZETTI, *by Felix Frankfurter. Little, Brown. 118 pp. Price $1.00 postpaid of The Survey.*

Revolution?

A READING of Soviet vs. Civilization arouses no curiosity as to its authorship. The material is of no consequence save by way of reminder that a world-wide struggle is on between Capitalism and Communism; and the author prefers to harp on the political and diplomatic strings, with sundry moralizings, rather than to give any real insight into the social forces at work. Consequently his treatment, while factual enough, is trivial and unilluminating.

Dyche's study of Bolshevism in American Labor Unions can not be so lightly dismissed. The book is obviously a personal document venting the author's pent-up grievance

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against the International Ladies' Garment Workers, of which he was once an officer. His work as an author is cheap and maudlin. Nevertheless it can hardly be denied that his wearisome indictment of the ways of the union and of its socialistic members and agitators contains a substantial germ of truth to be carefully weighed. It would hardly seem, however, that the irresponsibility and blind militancy to which Dyche attributes the diversion of the industry into petty outside shops could be a sufficient explanation of the demoralization that has overcome efforts in the direction of a sound factory system in the making of women's clothing; nor does the seasoned unionist lightly turn to the schemes of collaboration with the responsible employer in which Dyche finds the hope of labor. It would, however, be a useful exercise for leaders and active members of the garment unions to study painstakingly the indictment presented and to devise ways of meeting the union shortcomings that are revealed in spite of the author's personal grouch.

Will Irwin has written a sunnier book, and one calculated to be of more use to the average American. While the initiated Communist or Socialist or I.W.W. will find errors of detail, the story as a whole is a creditable analysis of the present extent of radicalism in America, on the background, in the case of each of the groups, of a sketchy historical presentation of the revolutionary annals in America, and to some degree in Europe. The book is fair, simple, and moderate and can be recommended to the casual Main Streeter whose fears about revolution are in proportion to his ignorance of the subject. Perhaps if Augur read the book he would be inclined to substitute America for Britain as the keystone of Civilization.

A. W. CALHOUN

SOVIET vs. CIVILIZATION, *by Augur. Appleton. 107 pp. Price $1.50 postpaid of The Survey.*
BOLSHEVISM IN AMERICAN LABOR UNIONS, *by John A. Dyche. Boni & Liveright. 224 pp. Price $2.00 postpaid of The Survey.*
HOW RED IS AMERICA? *by Will Irwin. Sears. 219 pp. Price $1.50 postpaid of The Survey.*

The Searchlight on Wall Street

A PROPER estimate of Professor Ripley's new book is to be gained only if one keeps his preface constantly in mind, for there the purpose of the volume is clearly stated. He is concerned to make sure that in a democracy property is not being allowed to degenerate into an instrument of oppression. The only justification for democracy, he says, is that it shall contribute to equality of opportunity for all its members. Those who criticise this best-seller as muckraking or those who find it deficient as a program for action will be equally at fault through failure to realize the essentially constructive purpose of the author.

Technical details apart, the book is a serious and informed, but charmingly clarified, statement of the relation of the modern investor to the conduct of the industries in which he is today putting such tremendous sums. Professor Ripley is not radical in the sense of being an advocate of the social ownership of property or the communal assumption of responsibility for production. He is trying simply to make the role of the investor, who numerically is becoming a bigger and bigger minority in the population, a safe and a responsible one.

That Professor Ripley should be subject to such vigorous attack as he is from the brokerage world is only an indication of the short-sightedness with which many stock and bond salesmen view their calling. The president of the Stock Exchange is nearer the truth when he preaches that everything which can be done to make the American investor rightly confident of the integrity of the securities offered him by Wall Street is in the long-time interest of security dealers.

Whether or not one agrees with all of Professor Ripley's suggestions, the book's important value is that stock vendors and buyers alike are sure to become more wary in the light of its analysis. The aspect of the problem which gives greatest pause is its astonishing complexity and the evidence here supplied of the need for experiment and inventiveness in trying to hit upon ways in which responsibility for financial flotations and financial manipulation can be socially controlled. One wishes also that the author had considered the relation to his

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problem of the accepted business notion that capitalization should be on the basis of presumptive earning power. The view that the earning-power basis for capitalization makes for public (even if not for accounting) confusion as to the real profits involved might well have been further emphasized. Yet it seems to the reviewer that not alone in public utilities, where the problem is now clearly recognized, but in the rest of industry the relating of capitalization not only to earning power but also to prudent investment does have a vital bearing upon the fundamental economy with which the enterprise is operated.

It is a wholesome sign that this book is a best-seller. The spirit of inquiry that it will naturally set at work must almost surely lead as time goes on to the proposal of regulatory measures regarding industrial corporate financings which are as necessary as they are inevitable.

ORDWAY TEAD

MAIN STREET AND WALL STREET, *by William Z. Ripley. Little, Brown. 359 pp. Price $2.50 postpaid of The Survey.*

Picture of a Fanatic

THIS is the life of a fanatic, done by young moderns. But it is neither foolish nor bitter; it is fair, kindly, frank, humorous, and rooted in research not rumor. Every page is interesting because here is an honest picture of a man, a veritable rough-hewn human being, though also a first-class fighting fanatic, willing to endure obloquy and even bloody wounds for his cause. Crusades are full of drama, and the authors have got the drama of Comstock into many a good fight, legal or fistic, and many a funny tale of the 70's and 80's. Comstock was a fanatic who became a symbol of Puritanic rigors against sex. The temptation to his biographers was to be fanatic in turn. That dilemma is admirably avoided. The old fighter with his "gamboge whiskers" is treated with respect and even a sneaking partiality.

In the round, then, Comstock stands forth as honest, courageous, incorruptible, and sincere. He becomes human—with his devotion to a pallid, inconsequential wife ten years his senior, his gentle love for children that made him adopt an ill-tempered unlovable child into his own house. He made no money out of the power given him. If he was wrong (and these authors think he was) he was whole-heartedly and magnificently wrong, not even regretting the fifteen suicides laid at his door. If he was void of humor or compassion for the transgressors, it was because he held his mission above the minor accommodations of life. If in his later years he did foolish things because he was without esthetic sense and knew nothing of art or beauty, he did them for duty's sake and not for publicity.

Before his death in 1915 he had become a symbol and a whipping-post—the Puritan busybody with a nose into all art and passion to suppress and sterilize. He gave (with Bernard Shaw's invention) his name to the whole school of prudes, "Comstockery." Says Broun: "He tried to set his heavy shoulders in the way of much truth and most beauty," but "In strict justice it must be said that his interference with books, plays, and paintings of sincere intent was slight. The scope of his censorship has grown vastly in the telling." Yet he may have helped the realists by making them struggle and defend themselves. "In making the arts dangerous, he made them glamorous. Those who hated him were no less shaped by his career than the many who respected his principles."

His real job was to get rid of smutty books and pictures that he thought were ruining the young. By 1913 he said he had convicted enough people to fill a sixty-one coach train, and destroyed one hundred and sixty tons of obscene literature. Broun thinks that though he made pornography seem more important than it is, he was perhaps defending the folkways of his people, and acting as a brake on the new freedom until the next generation was ready. The things he suppressed were not to any real extent works of art. So to attack Comstock's main work you must be ready to say that it is wrong or at least useless to keep dirty books and cards away from young boys and girls. Even the new radicalism does not defend such things: it says only that they make no difference. Now frankness and even nakedness are doubtless good astringent things; but what

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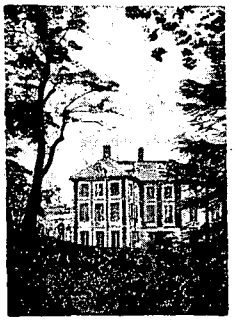

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ideal of the body, art, passion, or sex is helped by smutty postcards? The true modern theory is that such matters are too important to entrust enlightenment thereon to bootleggers of smut. Comstock may have been sex-ridden, but it was because he thought sex great, not trivial. Will anybody claim his crusade caused our present skepticism of marriage, our wild divorce rate, careless promiscuity, disintegrated family?

Comstock can be used as a text for three studies: one as an individual whose sex life manifested itself in this odd preoccupation; two, as the exponent of the censor-method in handling sex as a social force; three, as the representative of an age and a spirit. The book makes some slight obeisance to the possible Freudian explanation of Comstock's activity. But lack of data or timorousness debarred any real analysis of the man's own sex life, or use of this to explain his career. The sturdy life of the hero does not encourage guessing. His private character remains unscathed, and certainly his enemies would have searched him out. On the second point, the events of Comstock's life plus a sensible essay on Censorship by Broun as an appendix provide both matter and a way of thought on the uses or futilities of censorship.

But Comstock as a symptom and symbol of his generation and of the Puritan vision of life these authors seem to miss entirely. He was not alone. Many sensible and respectable business men and philanthropists supported him. He expressed the moral view of his time. He was not a freak but an epitome. What seems missing here as in most of the criticisms of the Puritan spirit is any apprehension of the reality to these older Americans of both God and conscience. The way they starved sex was something heroic and transcendental, implying some iron force within, some force that is respectable because of its power. It is too easy to say this preoccupation with the pursuit and punishment of smut is a compensation for youthful auto-eroticism carried over as a morbid sense of guilt. Why did they feel guilty? They were trying to mold life in what they conceived the image of God. This book does not seem to grasp the force of this ascetic faith, or its usefulness. Nor on the other hand does it interpret Comstock psychologically. It remains a very entertaining and instructive picture of the outside of the man and some of the ludicrous or pathetic dramas he staged.

LEON WHIPPLE

ANTHONY COMSTOCK, *by Heywood Broun and Margaret Leech. A. & C. Boni. 285 pp. Price $3.00 postpaid of The Survey.*

Geography Explains History!

IF all scientists could write like Huntington, we should need no journalists to interpret their work. In the present volume, the well known Yale geographer summarizes a number of previous studies and adds new material, made up, in the main, of the results of two investigations. These are very unequal in value. The chapters which give the geographical and climatological background of the history of the Jewish people lights up obscure phases of that history to an extent which entirely justifies the author's claim that selective migration, under the compulsion of climatic changes, is the cause of broad historical movements in which social, religious, political and commercial institutions represent merely the tools of progress.

Not only in these chapters but throughout the book, the author reveals—or re-states with astonishing precision of proof—factors in the development of racial character, in the experiences of peoples and in individual achievement, to which a majority of our historians are as yet blind.

It is all the more regrettable that the author, already often under attack for his imaginative historical reconstructions on the basis of climatological discoveries, saw fit to include in this book observations to which he has not given the usual scientific tests. This is true more especially of his statistical analysis of leadership as revealed in the collection of brief biographies in Who's Who. The superficiality of some of his deductions comes mainly from the fact that he uses that reference work as though its selection represented purely objective standards of "competency." Some pages of the social evaluations in this section merely reflect the author's preferences or the unstated

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bias of the material he uses. One of the astonishing inconsistencies—which incidentally suggests the danger of including in a single volume articles written at different times—is that between his tears over the large amount of talent which urban America draws from rural America and his denial of the possession of talent in Russia because it has lost its pre-war urban intellectuals.

In spite of its faults, however, this book is to be recommended. Its two or three main theses are presented with incontrovertible evidence, and its style is of a simplicity and charm that make easy reading for the layman.

BRUNO LASKER

THE PULSE OF PROGRESS, *by Ellsworth Huntington. Scribner's. 341 pp. and charts. Price $5.00 postpaid of The Survey.*

THE GOLDEN RULE THROUGH UNION EYES

(*Continued from page* 150)

workers and as a union. We, ourselves, have been dealt a blow where it hurts. It has been hurting us like blazes in our pocketbooks. . . . Our reputation as craftsmen in the industry has been hurt far more. We certainly cannot afford to let this continue. We must now spike and eliminate the cause of this for all time.

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Just as the union has recognized the morale-building value of Nash's attitude, so Mr. Nash himself has recognized the value of the extraordinary attitude of the union toward technical competence. It has led him to adopt many of the techniques which formerly he disparaged as deadening mechanisms. Quite candidly, he told me that since the union had been in the factory he for the first time knew in advance of production what the precise cost of each suit would be. A number of his district sales agencies involved him in serious loss for want of an adequate accounting system. He is rapidly introducing modern accounting into all branches of his business. For want of an adequate current inventory, he piled up stocks of unsalable woolens. It is his custom to issue sample books to his agents every six weeks. Inevitably, they pushed lines that were easiest to sell—played favorites among their samples and so the less popular goods piled up in the storeroom. To dispose of these stocks when they threatened his credit, Mr. Nash had to keep (*Continued on page* 187)

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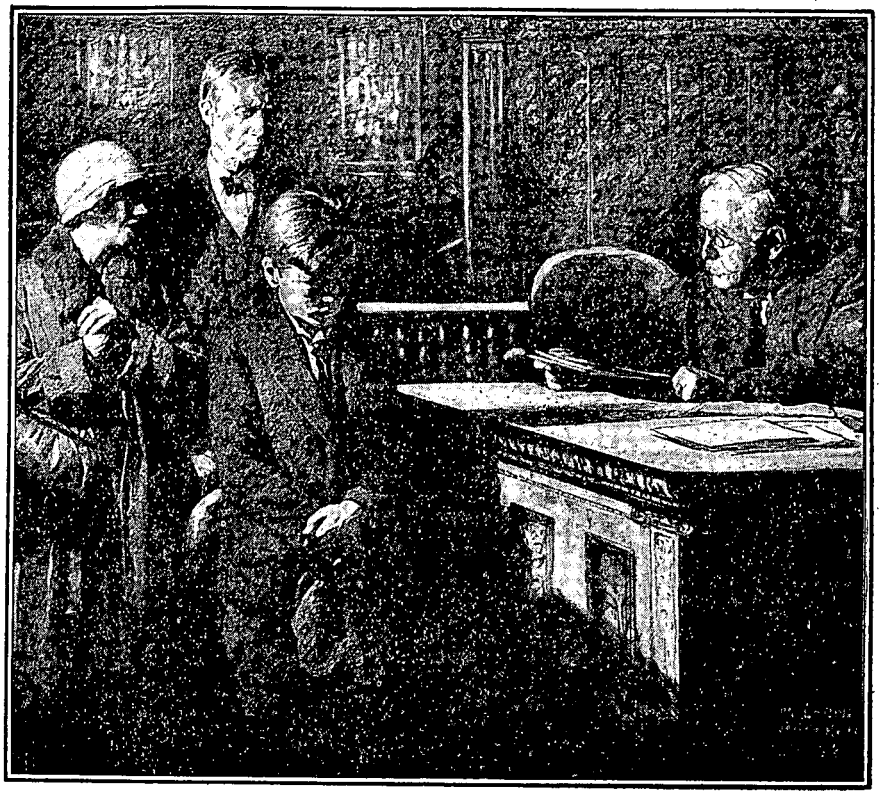

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Warm-hearted men and women in all parts of the country are doing splendid work in helping to salvage these bits of human driftwood. Organizations have been formed which send volunteer representatives to the Juvenile Courts to take boys and girls on probation and so save them from slipping into lives of crime. The kindly folk who do this work are "friends at court" to these youngsters.

Delinquent children are by no means found to come only from homes of poverty. From well-to-do and even rich homes have come children with tendencies toward crime which have amazed their parents. Too late these fathers and mothers learned that in reality they never had known their sons and daughters.

May Day—Children's Day

May First has been set aside by the nation as a day on which mothers and fathers, philanthropists and public-spirited men and women, interested in America's future, join in one great purpose—the big, important work of checking up the health of the children of this country.

It is a great forward step to set aside a definite day to have eyes, ears, noses, throats, and teeth examined for possible physical defects. But why stop half-way? Examine minds just as thoroughly for possible mental troubles.

In May, then, after you good fathers and mothers have found out whether or not your children are sound and healthy, physically, you will want to have an old-fashioned, heart-to-heart talk with the youngsters and learn what they are thinking about, who their companions are, and where they spend their time.

More especially will you want to do this if you have ever spent a few hours in a Juvenile Court where you will have learned that the young offender, in nearly every instance, lands in court because of bad companions or want of proper home training.

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COUNCIL OF WOMEN FOR HOME MISSIONS—156 Fifth Avenue, New York. Composed of 22 Protestant national women's mission boards. Florence E. Quinlan, Executive Secretary.
Work among Farm and Cannery Migrants, Summer service for college students, Laura H. Parker, Executive Supervisor.
Bureau of Reference for Migrating People, follow-up of New Americans, Raymond E. Cole, Executive.

EYE SIGHT CONSERVATION COUNCIL OF AMERICA—L. W. Wallace, President; Guy A. Henry, General-Director, Times Bldg., New York. Conducts a national educational campaign to promote eye hygiene. Urges correction of eye defects, protection against hazards, proper lighting. Comprehensive publications—lantern slides—lecture material. Cooperation of social agencies invited.

FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA—Constituted by 28 Protestant communions. Rev. C. S. Macfarland and Rev. S. M. Cavert, Gen. Sec's; 105 E. 22nd St., N. Y. C.

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Four thousand men and women who meet together this month at the National Conference of Social Work in Des Moines, have consecrated their lives to the doctrine of social justice and to its application in the neighborhoods of the land.

Compared with the size of the task, they are but a nucleus. They need you, too. Not your passive approval, but your active support, as well. If you cannot come to Des Moines, at least send in your membership to the National Conference of Social Work (listed above).

Dept. of Research and Education, Rev. F. E. Johnson, Sec'y.
Commissions: Church and Social Service, Rev. W. M. Tippy, Sec'y; International Justice and Goodwill: Rev. S. L. Gulick, Sec'y; Church and Race Relations: Dr. G. E. Haynes, Sec'y.

HAMPTON INSTITUTE—Trains Negro and Indian youth for community service. Advanced courses: agriculture, builders, business, home-economics, normal. Publishes "Southern Workman" and free material on Negro problems. J. E. Gregg, principal.

HUDSON GUILD—436 West 27th Street. Dr. John L. Elliott, head worker. Non-sectarian neighborhood-house: organized to make effective in the community better ways of living and working together thru co-operative effort. Social, educational, recreational activities for men, women, and children. Health work; Athletics; Neighborhood Theatre; Mental Hygiene clinic. Supported by voluntary contributions and memberships.

JOINT COMMITTEE ON METHODS OF PREVENTING DELINQUENCY—Graham Romeyn Taylor, executive director, 50 East 42nd Street, New York. To promote the adoption of sound methods in this field, with particular reference to psychiatric clinics, visiting teacher work, and training for these and similar services; to conduct related studies, education and publication; and to interpret the work of the Commonwealth Fund Program for the Prevention of Delinquency.

LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY—Promotes a better understanding of problems of democracy in industry through its pamphlet, research and lecture services and organization of college and city groups. Executive Directors, Harry W. Laidler and Norman Thomas, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS NON-PARTISAN ASSOCIATION—6 E. 39th Street, New York City. Charles C. Bauer, director. An Association supplying factual information about the League of Nations, World Court and the International Labor Office, in an effort to give Americans a true picture of the effectiveness of these organizations. Literature, educational material, a speakers' bureau, a film, slides, exhibits, and a reference library, are available to the public. Memberships which include subscription to the Association's monthly publication, range from $1.00 to $100.

NATIONAL BOARD OF THE YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS—Mrs. Robert E. Speer, president; Miss Mabel Cratty, general secretary, 600 Lexington Avenue, New York City. This organization maintains a staff of executive and traveling secretaries to cover work in the United States in 1,034 local Y. W. C. A.'s on behalf of the industrial, business, student, foreign born, Indian, Colored and younger girls. It has 159 American secretaries at work in 49 centers in the Orient, Latin America and Europe.

NATIONAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE—Wiley H. Swift, acting general secretary, 215 Fourth Avenue, New York. To improve child labor legislation; to conduct investigation in local communities; to advise on administration; to furnish information. Annual membership, $2, $5, $10, $25 and $100 includes monthly publication, "The American Child."

NATIONAL CHILD WELFARE ASSOCIATION, INC.—(est. 1912, incorp. 1914), 70 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C. (tel. Chelsea 8774). Promotes as its chief object the building of character in the children of America through the harmonious development of their bodies, minds, and spirits. Its method is, in co-operation with other organizations, to originate and disseminate educational material in the form of posters, books, bulletins, charts, slides, and insignia. Through its "Knighthood of Youth" it provides homes, schools and church schools with a method of character training through actual practice. Officers: Dr. John H. Finley, Pres.; Charles F. Powlison, Gen. Sec'y.

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DIRECTORY OF SOCIAL AGENCIES

THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR MENTAL HYGIENE, INC.—Dr. William H. Welch, honorary president; Dr. Charles P. Emerson, president; Dr. Frankwood E. Williams, medical director; Dr. Clarence J. D'Alton, executive assistant; Clifford W. Beers, secretary; 370 Seventh Avenue, New York City. Pamphlets on mental hygiene, mental and nervous disorders, feebleminded-ness, epilepsy, inebriety, delinquency, and other mental problems in human behavior, education, industry, psychiatric social service, etc. "Mental Hygiene," quarterly, $3.00 a year; "Mental Hygiene Bulletin," monthly, $.50 a year.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR THE PREVENTION OF BLINDNESS—Lewis H. Carris, managing director; Mrs. Winifred Hathaway, associate director; Dr. B. Franklin Royer, medical director, and Miss Eleanor P. Brown, secretary; 370 Seventh Ave., New York. Objects: To furnish information, exhibits, lantern slides, lectures, personal service for local organizations and legislation, publish literature of movement—samples free, quantities at cost. Includes New York State Committee.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK—John A. Lapp, president, Chicago, Ill.; Howard R. Knight, secretary, 277 E. Long St., Columbus, Ohio. The conference is an organization to discuss the principles of humanitarian effort and to increase the efficiency of social service agencies. Each year it holds an annual meeting, publishes in permanent form the Proceedings of the meeting, and issues a quarterly Bulletin. The fifty-fourth annual meeting of the Conference will be held in Des Moines, Iowa, May 11-18, 1927. Proceedings are sent free of charge to all members upon payment of a membership fee of five dollars.

NATIONAL CONGRESS OF PARENTS AND TEACHERS—Mrs. A. H. Reeve, President, Mrs. A. C. Watkins, Executive Secretary, 1201 Sixteenth Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. To develop cooperation between home and school, and an informed public opinion which will secure highest advantages for all children.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN—370 Seventh Ave., N. Y. C. Clearing house for 35 women's organizations. Valeria H. Parker, M.D., President.

NATIONAL COUNCIL, CHURCH MISSION OF HELP—1133 Broadway, New York. Agency of the Episcopal Church dealing with problems of unadjusted youth through social case work method. Fifteen units have been established, maintaining staffs of trained case workers in nine states.

NATIONAL HEALTH CIRCLE FOR COLORED PEOPLE, Inc.—370 Seventh Avenue, New York City. Col. Theodore Roosevelt, Honorary President; Dr. Jesse E. Mooreland, Pres.; Dr. George C. Booth, Treasurer; Miss Belle Davis, Executive Secretary.

To organize public opinion and support for health work among colored people.
To create and stimulate health consciousness and responsibility among the colored people in their own health problems.
To recruit, help educate and place young colored women in public health work.
Work supported by memberships and voluntary contributions.

THE NATIONAL TRAINING SCHOOL FOR INSTITUTION EXECUTIVES AND OTHER WORKERS—At the Children's Village, Dobbs-Ferry-on-Hudson, New York. To furnish adequate training to properly qualified people wishing to engage in, or already engaged in, institution work. Provide opportunity for carefully guided study in all phases of institution management and activity. Aims to furnish a trained personnel for child caring Institutions. The first and only school of its kind in the country. For further information address Calvin Derrick, Dean.

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE—For social service among Negroes. L. Hollingsworth Wood, pres.; Eugene Kinckle Jones, exec. sec'y; 127 E. 23rd St., New York. Establishes committees of white and colored people to work out community problems. Trains Negro social workers. Publishes "Opportunity"—a "journal of Negro life."

NATIONAL WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION—Anna A. Gordon, president; Headquarters, 1730 Chicago Avenue, Evanston, Illinois. To secure effective enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment, to advance the welfare of the American people through the department of Child Welfare, Women in Industry, Social Morality, Scientific Temperance Instruction, Americanization and other allied fields of endeavor. Official publications "The Union Signal" published at Headquarters.

NATIONAL WOMEN'S TRADE UNION LEAGUE—Mrs. Raymond Robins, honorary president; Miss Rose Schneiderman, president; 247 Lexington Ave., New York; Miss Elizabeth Christman, secretary, 311 South Ashland Blvd., Chicago, Ill. Stands for self-government in the work shop through organization and also for the enactment of industrial legislation. Information given.

PLAYGROUND AND RECREATION ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA—315 Fourth Avenue, New York City. Joseph Lee, president; H. S. Braucher, secretary. Special attention given to organization of year-round municipal recreation systems. Information available on playground and community center activities and administration.

THE RELIGIOUS MOTION PICTURE FOUNDATION, Inc.—William E. Harmon, Pres.; W. Burke Harmon, Vice-Pres.; Mary Beattie Brady, Treas.; Estelle Merrill, Sec.; 140 Nassau Street, New York. Producers and distributors of simple, short motion pictures designed strictly for church use as part of a regular service. One of the activities of the Harmon Foundation.

RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION—For the Improvement of Living Conditions—John M. Glenn, dir.; 130 E. 22nd St., New York. Departments: Charity Organization, Delinquency and Penology, Industrial Studies, Library, Recreation, Remedial Loans, Statistics, Surveys and Exhibits. The publications of the Russell Sage Foundation offer to the public in practical and inexpensive form some of the most important results of its work. Catalogue sent upon request.

ST. ANDREW'S REST, Woodcliff Lake, N.J., is conducted by the Episcopal Sisters of St. John Baptist for convalescent or tired girls and women. Season, May 15 to October 1. Apply to Sister in Charge. Telephone, Park Ridge 152. (Country Branch of St. Andrew's Convalescent Hospital, N. Y. C.)

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE—An institution for the training of Negro Youth; an experiment in race adjustment in the Black Belt of the South; furnishes information on all phases of the race problem and of the Tuskegee idea and methods; Robert R. Moton, principal; W. H. Carter, treasurer; A. L. Holsey, secretary, Tuskegee Institute, Ala.

WORKERS' EDUCATION BUREAU OF AMERICA—a cooperative Educational Agency for the promotion of Adult Education among Industrial Workers. 476 West 24th Street, New York City. Spencer Miller, Jr., Secretary.

(*Continued from page* 184)

all his salesmen driving for business on sample books that, instead of being freshened up every six weeks, were made to serve for as long as four months. This was one of the causes of the decline of business which gave him and his employes such serious concern during the winter of 1926-27.

A balance sheet covering all the operations of the business, as well as stocks in store, now comes to his desk every week. The union's experts, recruited from the most experienced of some 140,000 workers, advise him on the best routing lay-out of the factory and on the technical details of production. And, supplemented by the financial experts at union headquarters, the union's banks serve him in ranges of business with which traditionally the workers have been assumed to have no concern.

Moreover, it is the union that is today urging Mr. Nash to stabilize his business at the point of maximum efficiency, and through increasing his margin of profit accumulate financial reserves that will enable him to weather any untoward turn in general business conditions. They have performed this service so well that the principal danger in the present situation is that Mr. Nash will want to place upon them and that they will be tempted to assume undue responsibilities.

When, in order to improve technical processes, the union representative comes into the shop and by giving a demonstration of expert craftsmanship impairs the prestige of the foreman and production superintendent in the eyes of the worker, there is danger that the sound relationship between those who must give orders and those who must receive and obey them may be jeopardized. Mr. Nash's own answer to this problem is that in due course the shop chairmen and shop chairladies, who are the workers' own representatives, shall assume all or a considerable part of the managerial responsibility now vested in minor executives.

My belief based, among other things, upon the Amalgamated's own failure to maintain discipline in a factory which after the war it attempted to operate, is that such an arrangement would defeat the best aims of close cooperation between union and management in the Nash plant. The Amalgamated has developed a high sense of craftsmanship and, more particularly, of the importance of the technique of management among its workers. Unless properly safeguarded, this may tempt the union's local representatives to overreach the margin of safety. So far this danger has been averted by the levelheaded and tactful methods of men like Jack Kroll, Morris Schaps, Joseph C. Haering and Marco Meccia, manager and business agents of the union in Cincinnati, and Gus W. Comillo, manufacturing superintendent of the Nash factories, whose ability to push work through in quantity largely accounts for the phenomenal growth of the business. What the union has been able to contribute would have been impossible without Gus Comillo's cooperation. Realizing the nature of the problem which confronts them, there is every prospect that Mr. Nash, his executive associates and the trade union leaders will find a solution which will (*Continued on page* 192)

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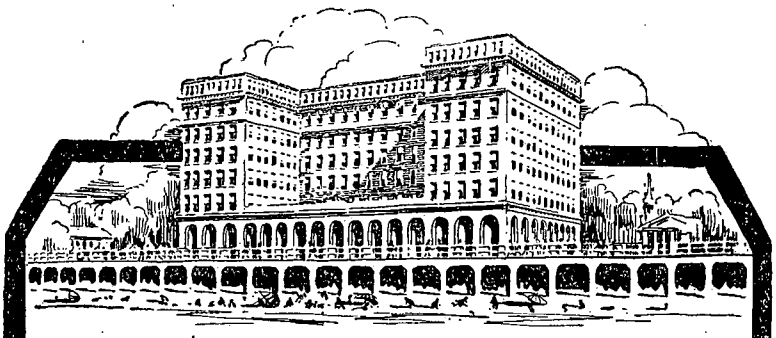

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YOUNG WOMAN, headworker of settlement, also experienced executive in other branches of social work available for position May or next October. 5748 SURVEY.

YOUNG WOMAN experienced in hospital and dispensary management, accounting and statistics, also thorough understanding of Workmen's Compensation Law, wishes institutional position of responsibility and trust. 5798 SURVEY.

WOMAN of culture and experience in Settlement and Community Work, competent executive, desires position as director for summer camp. Not Jewish. 5761 SURVEY.

EXECUTIVE, male, seven years experience desires change of position. Jewish organization preferred. Also research experience. Excellent references. 5800 SURVEY.

WOMAN, Jewish, Social Worker with teaching experience desires light employment in institution in return for room and board. 5799 SURVEY.

EXECUTIVE: with practical experience in every phase of institutional work and management. Wife qualified Kindergarten and Grade Teacher, social service and institutional work. 5802 SURVEY.

CAMP DIRECTOR—(Male), Jewish Assistant Principal New York School—Ten Years Experience large institutional and private camps. Executive and dietician. 5804 SURVEY.

WANTED: Position as head worker in Settlement in middle West, preferably Ohio. College education and several years experience in Settlements. 5806 SURVEY.

BOYS' CLUB or Home Director. Young man of twelve years experience with boys, would like to transfer to larger field in Fall. Excellent references as to character, and disciplinarian. 5810 SURVEY.

SUPERINTENDENT, varied experience as executive and organizer, pleasant personality. For children, convalescents, or old folks. 5808 SURVEY.

COLLEGE GRADUATE, thoroughly experienced, desires position as secretary to Organization Executive, or professional person. Available immediately. 5817 SURVEY.

WOMAN, State Normal graduate wishes position: tutor, governess, companion during vacation. Experience: principal schools, past three years supervisor grades. 5773 SURVEY.

WANTED: Position as Superintendent or managing housekeeper, by woman of ability, tact, and culture, wide institutional experience and deep interest in youth. Available at once. Reply 5811 SURVEY.

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CASE WORKER, 11 years experience, 8 in executive positions; 3 years University teaching in social work courses, several years in field work supervision; desires job, preferably in the East, where interest and experience in training, research into case work processes, preparation of teaching material and writing will be of value. Available after June 15. 5815 SURVEY.

WOMAN, University instructor, wishes change during summer. Companion, summer camp, clerical or welfare work. 5807 SURVEY.

WANTED: Position, preferably in field of Social Research. Student for one year in New York School of Social Work; three year's experience in Girls' Industrial School; special investigator and Acting Director of Juvenile Protective Association for two years, and Supervisor of Psychiatric Social Service Department with American Red Cross Chapter for two years. Address, Box 271, Grand Central Terminal, New York City.

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DELINQUENT GIRLS ON PAROLE, A Study of Girls Paroled from Cedar Knolls School, Hawthorne, N. Y., 1909-1925, by Alice D. Menken, Vice-President, Jewish Board of Guardians, 228 East 19th Street, N. Y. C. "Reprint from Jewish Social Service Quarterly, Sept. 1926."

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Why I Am Going

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From Boston——

I attend in order to rediscover my place in the profession. It is here that I revive my appreciation of the standards and principles upon which social work is based. Through it I enrich my personal philosophy of service. In it I find friendships that are the rewards of life.

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Executive Secretary,
Boston Council of Social Agencies.

From Chicago——

With a platform as broad as humanity, the Conference has kept the field of my vision and action ever extending. The fine fellowships of its democratic membership have so inspired, guided and heartened me that neither I nor my work can afford to lose the momentum to be gained at every session.

Graham Taylor

Chicago Commons.

From San Francisco——

In general, for inspiration, information, discussion, guidance, fellowship. For the thrill of being part of that great group of forward looking men and women who are trying with vision and courage to work out the problems of human relationships. In particular, to get ideas and new information for our own work.

Anita Eldridge

Executive Secretary,
California Conference of Social Work.

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HOWARD R. KNIGHT, *General Secretary*

National Conference of Social Work

277 East Long Street, Columbus, Ohio.

(*Continued from page* 187)

bring fresh prestige to union management cooperation. Already the quality of Nash suits has been raised to a higher standard; the last financial statement shows that the business is in a healthy condition. There is impressive evidence in the factory of what can be accomplished where management and workers agree that their own interests and the interests of the buyers of their product are best served when the technique of science in the field of industrial relations is obedient to the Golden Rule.

THOUGH DOCTORS DISAGREE

(*Continued from page* 156)

is in fact far less expensive than the old method of paying by the visit, or in the case of mutual societies at so much per member. Its cheapness, however, does not result from underpaying the doctor, but from its use of the principle of organization in saving his time, pooling equipment, and in utilizing equipment and personnel efficiently. We have been able through economies of organization to spend more money than we had at first thought possible on the improvement of the system itself, and on opportunities for our physicians to better the service to their patients and to carry on research.

There has just come to my hand the First Annual Report (1925) of the Clinics of the Federation of the Sickness Insurance Societies of Berlin, a book of nearly two hundred pages filled with studies by physicians of the clinic staffs, on such subjects as: living conditions among tuberculosis cases in Charlottenburg; diseases of the lungs among children; cancer and x-ray therapy; medical conditions among certain occupational groups; and other topics of more technical interest. The introduction points out that these studies are published as "an evidence that in spite of the strenuous labor which the rapid growth of the clinics and the throngs of patients have required of the physician, they have yet found time to turn their practical experience to scientific account."

This article does not attempt to present an appraisal of the Berlin clinics nor of the sickness insurance system which underlies them. It attempts merely to report a visitor's observations of a new and challenging experiment which is hardly known in America. Hence I have let this article report merely my own brief observation of the clinics, and what the leader of the experiment had to say about it. Perhaps medical or economic organizations may thus be stimulated to a more critical study. One personal comment may be ventured:

I was impressed in Berlin with the probability that the long-standing sequence of controversies between the organized physicians and the insurance societies had entered a new phase. For more than a generation they have pivoted mainly, as we should say in America, on the dollar. The insurance societies have usually endeavored to get medical service for as little money as possible; the doctors have naturally thrown their weight on the other side of the economic argument. Now in Berlin the doctors have something more difficult to combat than financial pressure; namely an idea. The clinics have been set up with the aim of efficiency as well as of economy. Their leaders believe, or at least declare, that poor medical service does not pay. If the leaders of sickness insurance societies have really learned this and if the ultimate German authorities and the financial conditions permit them to act accordingly, a new chapter in the dismal history of medical controversy may have opened.

That insured members have the legal right of choice between a clinic on the one hand, and a physician on the other to whom they may go individually and who will be paid by the insurance society, is a factor in the situation big with significance. The clinics are faced with the necessity of providing service which is at least as satisfactory to the members as individual medical practice. The focus of the clinic policy cannot be described as "medical service for less money," but as "better medical service for less money." Is it practicable to achieve this ideal through cooperative organization without breaking down medical morale or deteriorating the ultimate quality of service for the cure and prevention of disease? That is the issue now on trial on a large scale in the capital city of the German republic.

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